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'Text' of Space Inspectorate Memorandum

LD312135 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—The USSR delegation at the conference on disarmament has introduced a memorandum entitled "On Establishing an International System To Verify Non-Deployment of Any Kind of Weapons in Outer Space". Follows the text of the document.

The delegation of the USSR shares the concern being expressed by representatives of many countries participating in the conference on disarmament over the possibility of the arms race spreading over to outer space.

During the 1987 session of the conference on disarmament, the delegation of the Soviet Union suggested starting to form a system of international verification of non-deployment of any kind of weapons in outer space, without waiting for the conclusion of an appropriate agreement on space. The principal aim of such a system would be to determine that objects being launched into space and orbited there are not weapons or are not provided with any types of weapons.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, an International Space Inspectorate could be the centre-piece of such a verification system. The states parties to the agreement would grant such an inspectorate the right of access for inspection purposes to any objects intended for launching and orbiting in outer space.

This document concretises the Soviet Union's proposal concerning an International Space Inspectorate. The Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that, depending on the specificity of concrete agreements on preventing an arms race in outer space, a verification system, a structure of the International Space Inspectorate and forms of its functioning may be developed and specified in the process of negotiations.

I. Goals and Definitions [subhead]

1. The principal goal of establishing an International Space Inspectorate is to take measures to verify that any objects being launched into and orbited in outer space by the states parties to the agreement are not weapons and are not provided with any type of weapons.

2. An on-site inspection directly before the launch is the most simple and effective way to make it certain that objects being launched into and obited in outer space are not weapons and are not provided with type of weapon.

3. To ensure complete ban on space arms, verification measures with the aid of the International Space Inspectorate should include as follows:

A/ The provision of information in advance to representatives of the International Space Inspectorate by the inspection accepting state about each forthcoming launch, including a date and time of the launch, type of booster rocket, orbit parameters, and general data on the space object to be launched;

B/ Permanent presence of inspector groups at all sites for the launching of space objejcts to verify all such objects irrespective of launch vehicles;

C/ Inspection is to begin ... days prior to the mounting of the objects atop a booster rocket or other launch vehicle;

D/ The carrying out of inspections at agreed-upon depots industrial enterprises, in laboratories and test centres;

E/ Verification of unannounced launchings from undeclared launch sites through snap on-site inspections

4. Any craft intended for launching into and orbiting in outer space is regarded as a space object.

5. Systems and devices, based on any physical principles which from the very outset were created or converted to hit targets in outer space, in the earth's atmosphere or on its surface (the list of such systems and devices shall be coordinated during talks) are regarded as weapons banned from being launched into outer space.

6. Ballistic missiles, the launchings of which are not connected with carrying any objects into the orbit of a satellite of the earth or into the path of flight to other celestial bodies, are not subject to verification by the International Space Inspectorate.

II. Structure and Financing [subhead]

1. A council consisting of representatives of all states parties to the agreement is the leading body which directs the work of the International Space Inspectorate. The council gathers for its regular annual sessions as well as for special sessions which may be called by the inspector-general at a request of a majority of states parties to the agreement.

2. An International Space Inspectorate, headed by inspector-general elected by the council for a term of five years, is the council's executive body.

3. The International Space Inspectorate is based on an inspectors' corps which is manned by specialists from the states parties to the agreement with the observance of the principle of fair geographical representation.

4. The International Space Inspectorate has permanent inspector groups consisting of...people at the following cosmodromes of the states parties to the agreement (the list of these shall be coordinated during negotiations).

5. Snap inspection groups are formed from among members of the inspector corps and additional specialists assigned if necessary by the states parties to the agreement.

6. The activities of the International Space Inspectorate shall be financed resultant of annual proportional payments by the member states (this shall be coordinated during negotiations).

III. Permamanent Inspector Groups [subhead]

1. Permanent inspector groups are appointed by the inspector-general from among candidacies nominated by the parties on the basis of the principle of fair geographical representation and shall consist of not more than.... members upon preliminary coordination with the accepting state.

2. The heads of permanent inspector groups are appointed by inspector-general from among candidacies nominated by the [words indistinct] coordination with the accepting states.

3. Each permanent inspector group will consist of representatives of the party which regularly launches space objects and on the territory of which an appropriate inspector group functions.

4. The leaders and members of permanent inspector groups will be granted the privileges and immunities which are enjoyed by diplomatic representatives in accordance with the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations.

5. The inspection accepting state will render maximum assistance to the permanent inspector group in the performance of the functions assigned to it.

6. Permanent inspector groups shall be accompanied at cosmodromes.

7. The permanent inspector group, in agreement with the accepting state, will bring and use instruments, materials and equipment (a list of these shall be decided upon during negotiations) necessary for the discharge of the functions entrusted to it.

8. The activities of permanent inspector groups will be financed from the budget of the International Space Inspectorate.

IV. Procedure for the Work of International Space Inspectorate [subhead]

1. The inspection accepting state shall refer written notifications and general programmes for supervision of each forthcoming launch of space object to the International Space Inspectorate ... days before the launch simultaneously sending a copy of notification to an appropriate permanent inspector group.

2. A notification about the forthcoming launch shall give the following information: Place, date and time of launch, type of booster rocket, orbit parameters, and general data on the space object to be launched (the amount of necessary data will be decided upon during negotiations).

3. Replies to notifications shall be sent by the International Space Inspectorate to the accepting state not later than ... days after the receipt of notification about the forthcoming launch and shall be accompanied with the instructions to an appropriate permanent inspector group to carry out an inspection.

4. Together with the notification, the accepting state shall submit a general programme for supervision, including the following information:

A date, time, and place for inspectors' access to space object;

A planned duration of the observation programme;

Languages to be used in oral and/or written translations;

Other necessary information;

Terms for the provision of supervision means which will be given to the observers by the accepting state.

5. For inspectors to be able to determine with sufficient confidence that a space object is not a weapon and is not equipped with weapons, the accepting state shall do as follows during the inspection in accordance with the supervision programme:

Provide inspectors with necessary instruments, materials and equipment a list of which shall be decided upon during negotiations.

Inspectors may also use their own instruments, materials and equipment which shall be subject to verification and approval on the part of the accepting state.

During the observation programme to provide inspectors with necessary information directly connected with the performance of functions by the inspectors;

To provide inspectors with transportation means for movement in the area of the launch side;

To allow inspectors to visit the places where space objects are mounted atop the booster rocket and the launch sites;

To give an opportunity to the inspectors to maintain timely communication with the International Space Inspectorate (the accepting state is not obliged to bear expenses for the use of communications means by the inspectors);

To provide inspectors with appropriate meals and housing at a place fit for the implementation of the supervision programme and if necessary with medical aid.

V. Verification of Unannounced Launchings [subhead]

1. The state party to the agreement has a right to request the International Space Inspectorate to render assistance in clarifying any situation which may be reckoned unclear in view of suspicion about an unannounced launch of space object. With a view to clarifying the situation the International Space Inspectorate may demand all necessary information from specially assigned observatories (a list of which shall be stipulated during negotiations).

2. The state party to the agreement has a right to ask the International Space Inspectorate to get explanation from any party about a situation which may be reckoned unclear in view of suspicion about an unannounced launch of a space object. The requesting state provides the International Space Inspectorate with all information on the strength of which there arose suspicion about an unannounced launch of space object.

The following procedures shall be used in such event:

A/ The International Space Inspectorate refers the request for clarification to an appropriate state party to the agreement within 24 hours of its receipt;

B/ The requesting state gives explanation to the International Space Inspectorate within...days from the time of the receipt of the request. The International Space Inspectorate refers explanation to the requesting state within 24 hours from the moment of its receipt;

C/ If the requesting state considers the explanation insufficient, it may request the International Space Inspectorate to decide on a snap on-site inspection at the place of launch and at the area of the fall of the separable components of the booster rocket and spacecraft.

3. The International Space Inspectorate informs the states parties to the agreement of any request for explanation of a situation which may be reckoned unclear in view of suspicions about an unannounced launch of space object.

VI. Snap inspections in View of Suspicion About Unannounced Launch of Space Object [subhead]

1. The International Space Inspectorate takes decision on a snap inspection to clarify the situation which may be reckoned unclear in view of suspicions about an unannounced launch of space objects on the strength of a request by the party which considers the received explanations insufficient.

2. A snap inspection shall be carried out by a snap inspection group composed on the basis of the principle of fair geographical representation from among members of the inspector corps of the International Space Inspectorate and the permanent inspector group in a given country.

The state party to the agreement, requesting a snap inspection may nominate not more than two if its representatives who will be included in the group as observers and will enjoy all the privileges and immunities on a par with the other members of the group.

3. Within 24 hours of the adoption of the decision to carry out a snap inspection, the International Space Inspectorate sends a request to the appropriate state party to the agreement. In the request for a snap inspection the International Space Inspectorate will inform the inspection accepting state as follows:

Reasons for the request;

Location of the designated area determined by geographic coordinates;

Preferable points of entry by a snap inspection group;

The place in the given area where inspection will begin;

Whether the inspection will be carried out from land, air or in both ways simultaneously;

In case of inspection from the air, what flying vehicles will be used;

Whether the snap inspection group will use its own ground transportation means or the means of the inspection accepting state;

Information necessary for the issue of diplomatic visas to inspectors entering the accepting state.

5. The state receiving the request of the International Space Inspectorate for a snap inspection is obliged to enable the snap inspection group to carry out such inspection without delay.

6. A reply to the request for a snap inspection shall be given within 24 hours of its receipt.

7. A snap inspection group shall consist of not more than...members. The inspection will not end later than-...days following the arrival of the snap inspection group at the designated area.

8. During the stay of the inspectors on the territory on the accepting country in connection with the snap inspection, the inspectors shall enjoy the privileges and immunities in accordance with the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations.

9. The accepting state shall provide the group with appropriate meals and housing at a place enabling the inspectors to perform their functions and if necessary with medical aid.

10. The snap inspection group shall use its own maps, instruments, materials and equipment.

11. The snap inspection group shall have access to appropriate communications means of the accepting state, including those ensuring the possibility of permanent contact between inspector group members in a flying vehicle and in the ground transportation vehicle being used during the inspection.

Further on Sofia Pact Ministers Meeting

PM310753 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Opens"]

[Text] Sofia, 29 Mar—A scheduled session of the Committee of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers opened here today.

The following foreign ministers are taking part in its work: P. Mladenov—Bulgaria; P. Varkonyi—Hungary; O. Fischer—GDR; M. Orzechowski—Poland; I. Totu—Romania; E.A. Shevardnadze—USSR; and B. Chnoupek—CSSR.

Topical issues relating to strengthening European and universal security are on the session agenda. The main attention will be focused on the tasks of advancing the all-European process and reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The ministers will also discuss ways to consolidate the positive trends in the development of the international situation initiated by the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

G. Atanasov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Bulgarian Council of Ministers chairman, gave a dinner in honor of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers.

Session Concludes

LD301445 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 30 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee ended its session here today. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

The ministers examined issues connected with the situation in Europe and the world at large, in the context of the campaign for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, above all in the nuclear field.

They came out in favour of starting as soon as possible talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and lowering military tension, establishing relations of peace and cooperation in various parts of the continent.

They opted for the further expansion and deepening of the all-European process and achievement of weighty results at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting in all sections of the Helsinki Final Act.

The ministers also discussed some topical issues of the present-day international situation.

The committee adopted a joint communique and an address to NATO member countries and all nations participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

On the same day Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of Bulgaria's State Council, met with the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers.

Ministers Hold News Conference

LD301336 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states has closed. A news conference has been held here today, at which newsmen were told that a communique and an appeal would be issued later to all the NATO member countries, all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe containing a call for joint practical actions, cooperation in building an "all-European home" free from prejudices, fear and suspicion.

Addressing the news conferernce, Ivan Ganev, Bulgarian deputy foreign minister, pointed out the business-like, democratic spirit of the meeting, which is a reflection of the processes of perestroyka and renovation taking place in the socialist countries. The Warsaw Treaty member countries have proposed the NATO member states that information be exchanged within the next few days with a subsequent publication on the structure, power, weapons and deployment of all the armies and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, both by the separate geographical areas and by countries, Ivan Ganev said. Such a move will dispel the myth about a great military superiority of the Warsaw Treaty member countries over NATO. Another important move is the proposal that talks be started on the elimination of all tactical weapons in Europe. Third is the important accent laid on confidence and security building measures in the areas of the seas washing Europe, the spreading of these measures to the navies and air force of the member countries of both blocs, and, at last, the ministers declared that qualitatively new steps be taken in that direction at the next forum on the measures to strengthen trust and cooperation.

The press conference was addressed by Vadim Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister. He stressed the importance of the appeal to the NATO member countries, all the countries participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Of special significance, he said, is the call contained there for centering their efforts on the resolution of priority tasks aimed at reducing the level of military confrontation, of the threat of war, and also the call that the weapons being eliminated in the process of disarmament be not replaced with others. All

obstacles shall be removed from the way of struggle against any attempts at carrying on the weapons race. Implementation of the ideas of so-called compensation and rearmament about which they in the West are talking much nowadays, perfection and creation of new weapons whether they be nuclear, chemical or conventional ones, are in conflict with the vital interests of the peoples of Europe and of the whole world, which strive for freeing the continent and the whole of the planet from the accumulated weapons.

Speaking on prospects for signing a treaty on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons between the USSR and the USA during the upcoming visit of President Reagan to the USSR, the Soviet representative voiced hope that the text of such a treaty and the corresponding supplements can be drawn up, given goodwill, within the required time. We see no technical difficulties, V. Loginov emphasized. Deplorably, there are forces not only among the political circles of the USA, but also among the diplomatic machinery, which hamper the progress of drafting that document. We believe that the political will of the U.S. leadership, public opinion in the United States itself and in other countries will create conditions under which this impediment will be overcome. It is necessary to carry on a search for a diplomatic settlement of the existing difficulties. We hope that all of our considerations put forward by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the latest round of the talks in Washington will be accepted by the American side, progress will be started, and the April meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Moscow will prove to be fruitful.

'Appeal' to NATO, CSCE Countries

PM301547 Moscow PRAVDA in Rus[illegible] 31 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

["Appeal to the NATO Member States and All Countries Participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The signing of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was an event of historic significance in international life and a victory for a realistic policy. Its attainment was promoted by the actions of many states and the actions of antiwar movement and peace-loving forces on all continents. The treaty confirms the possibility of nuclear disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

The treaty is only a beginning. The main thing today is, while preserving and utilizing everything positive that made it possible to conclude the treaty, to consistently increase the efforts of each and every state with the aim of making the disarmament process continuous and irreversible and concluding new agreements aimed at further reducing the stockpiled arsenals of weapons and leading to the establishment of military equilibrium on an ever lower level and the elimination of the danger of war on the European continent and throughout the world.

A real opportunity is opening up before Europe—to ensure lasting security through a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms, the elimination on both sides of the potential for a surprise attack, and the continent's total liberation from nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

Proceeding on this basis, the Warsaw Pact states consider it necessary for the efforts of all countries to be concentrated on resolving the following priority tasks:

—Ensuring the entry into force of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and its implementation.

—The conclusion in the first half of 1988 of a USSR-U.S. treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms and an agreement on strict compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and on nonwithdrawal from that treaty for an agreed term.

—A general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests and the acceleration of progress toward this goal through the elaboration at Soviet-U.S. talks on a nuclear test ban of an accord on additional verification measures in the interests of the speedy ratification of the 1974 and 1976 USSR-U.S. treaties and the attainment of an agreement on a further reduction in the capacity and number of nuclear explosions.

—The completion in 1988 of the drafting of a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles. It should make provision for reliable monitoring and verification procedures, including compulsory inspections on request without the right of refusal. The stepping up of openness and the creation of an atmosphere of trust would be promoted by holding in the near future a multilateral exchange of relevant data in connection with the drafting of the convention.

—The speediest completion at the 23d consultations within the framework of the Vienna meeting of CSCE states of work to agree on a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and the commencement of such talks in 1988. These aims would be promoted by holding as soon as possible an exchange of data on the armed forces and conventional arms of the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO in Europe. Advocating a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms with a corresponding reduction in military expenditure, the Warsaw Pact states are prepared in the course of these talks to uncover and eliminate on a reciprocal basis the existing asymmetries and imbalances both on an all-European scale and for individual regions.

—The commencement of separate talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-purpose systems, and the subsequent elimination of such weapons.

—The implementation by the Warsaw Pact states and NATO of a comparison of military doctrines, taking military-technical aspects into account, with a view to giving the military doctrines and concepts of the two military alliances and their participants a strictly defensive thrust.

—The development and expansion at the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe of the confidence-building measures adopted during the first stage of its work, in parallel with the elaboration of a new generation of confidence- and security-building measures, including the limitation of the number and scale of military exercises and the extension of confidence-building measures to the activity of air and naval forces.

—The creation of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans and in Central and Northern Europe, arms cuts and confidence building in Central Europe, the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and zone of trust and a reduced level of armaments along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the commencement of the process of limiting military activity and lowering the level of military confrontation in Northern and Southern Europe, and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

—The commencement of talks attended by the major naval powers, particularly states possessing nuclear weapons, as well as other interested states, on limiting and prohibiting naval activity in agreed areas, limiting and reducing naval armaments, and extending confidence-building measures to seas and oceans to safeguard security and freedom of navigation.

—The declaration of a moratorium for 1-2 years on increasing military expenditure by the Warsaw Pact and NATO states with a view to its further effective reduction.

—The activation of practical and purposeful work at the Geneva Disarmament Conference to adopt effective measures leading to the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, nuclear disarmament, and the prevention of an arms race in space, in such a way that bilateral and multilateral talks on these problems complement one another and pursue a common aim.

To achieve and successfully implement accords in all these spheres particular significance would be attached to ensuring greater glasnost and predictability in the military sphere, exchanging the requisite information, and creating a rigorous and effective system for monitoring and verifying the pledges adopted by the sides.

The solution of the aforementioned tasks will contribute to the further improvement of the situation in Europe and will lead to a considerable reduction of the military threat, stronger confidence, and the development of multifaceted cooperation on the continent.

The foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states confirm their states' proposals on eliminating military bases and withdrawing foreign forces from other countries' territories and note that their implementation would be a substantial contribution to strengthening stability and security in Europe and in the world.

There is a growing belief in the world that nuclear war must never be unleashed and can have no victors, that it is necessary to prevent any war, either nuclear or conventional, and that the creation of a safe world demands the demonstration of new thinking and a new approach to questions of war and peace and presupposes the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the abandonmment of the concepts of "nuclear deterrence," and the policy of force and threat of force in interstate relations.

The arms eliminated in the process of disarmament and cuts must not be replaced by others and barriers must be placed in the way of any new avenues of the arms race. The implementation of the ideas of "compensation" and the improvement and development of new systems, be they nuclear, chemical, or conventional, would conflict with the fundamental interests of the peoples of Europe who want the continent to be rid of the weapons that have accumulated there.

The Warsaw Pact states urgently appeal to the NATO countries and to all European states to take advantage of the historic opportunity and to continue through joint efforts to move along the path of disarmament and the strengthening of security and cooperation in all areas. They, for their part, will do everything incumbent on them to that end.

Foreign Ministers 'Communique'

PM301551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was held in Sofia 29-30 March 1988.

Taking part in the session were: Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov; Hungarian Foreign Minister P. Varkonyi; GDR Foreign Minister O. Fischer; Polish Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski; Romanian Foreign Minister I. Totu; USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze; and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek.

1. The session examined a wide range of international—above all, European—problems, and discussed priority tasks in the further development and strengthening of positive trends in the international situation. Stating that the situation in Europe and the world as a whole remains relatively complex and contradictory, the ministers stressed the urgent need to move the disarmament process forward and to create a nuclear-free, nonviolent world. It is important that all states refrain from any actions that might complicate this process. We must not allow disarmament in one area to be accompanied by the simultaneous launch of an arms race in other areas.

The session adopted an appeal to the NATO states and all the CSCE countries.

2. The session participants advocated the speediest conclusion of the ratification process for the treaty concluded between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which, it is generally recognized, is of historic importance.

They view the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as a first step which should be followed by new agreements aimed at reducing strategic offensive weapons, preventing an arms race in space, ensuring the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear tests, eliminating nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass destruction weaponry, reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, cutting military spending, and resolving other security and disarmament issues.

The ministers expressed the conviction that the conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States to halve their strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and not withdrawing from that treaty for an agreed period would be a fundamental measure in the disarmament sphere. USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze briefed the participants on the progress of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms and on other contacts with U.S. representatives on this subject. There was total support for the Soviet side's position.

The session participants stressed the need to abandon any intention to "compensate" in any way whatsoever for the nuclear arms due to be scrapped under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The Soviet Union's withdrawal from the GDR and the CSSR—by agreement with them—of Soviet OTR-22 missiles even before the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles came into force was seen by the countries represented at the session as a manifestation of goodwill in the nuclear disarmament process.

3. The ministers had an in-depth exchange of opinions on questions of disarmament, the strengthening of security, confidence-building, and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe, and expressed their states' readiness to expand constructive dialogues with other countries to that end.

Session participants stressed that the inviolability of the postwar borders on the continent, respect for the current territorial-political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and strict observance of the universally recognized principles and standards of international law are a precondition for the maintenance of lasting peace and security in Europe. Any attempts to question these realities and their unshakable nature will continue to be most resolutely repulsed. They pointed out here that the activity of revanchist forces and the encouragement of revanchism wherever it may be runs counter to the interest of detente and security, the treaties and agreements signed in the seventies, and the Helsinki Final Act.

4. The session participants expressed the firm intention of their countries to seek substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe ranging from the Atlantic to the Urals and the earliest start to relevant talks. If the danger posed by a surprise attack is to be avoided it is essential to pay special attention to cutting those kinds of armaments which form the basis of armed forces' offensive might, including tactical nuclear weapons. The historically formed asymmetries and imbalances in the conventional weapons sphere in Europe would be removed on a mutual basis by reductions on the part of the side which has superiority in a particular kind of armaments. This would meet the principles of equal and identical security of the sides and the interests of all European countries. All steps would be taken on the basis of the exchange of necessary data under an effective system of verification and monitoring.

Armed forces, conventional arms, and military equipment, including dual-purpose systems without their nuclear component, would be the subject of talks. The nuclear component of dual-purpose systems itself would be the subject of separate talks. Such talks should not be long delayed. The Warsaw Pact states remain ready to hold them simultaneously with talks on conventional arms and confirm their declared aim of completely eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

5. Session participants analyzed the results of the work carried out at the Vienna meeting and noted that the forum has come very close to the crucial point of adopting a political decision which would further strengthen security and cooperation in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact states expressed their resolve to seek to crown the Vienna meeting with the kind of accords which would, based on all the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, put all spheres of the all-European process on a qualitatively new level, develop

the dynamics of real disarmament on the continent, enable even more substantial and effective confidence- and security-building measures to be taken, provide a powerful impetus to deepening economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and collaboration in the sphere of culture and in all other humanitarian aspects, and create mutual understanding and respect.

The countries represented at the session advocate intensifying the work of the Vienna meeting in all areas. For their part they are ready to help in every possible way to draft a meaningful and balanced final document there.

The proposal to complete the Vienna meeting at the level of CSCE foreign ministers was confirmed. This would enable the ministers to hold an exchange of opinions on questions of the further deepening of the all-European process and begin talks at the forums on confidence- and security-building measures and on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

The interests of all the European peoples would be served by the creation of an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, an "all-European home" in which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be established.

Confirming the position of their states regarding the need to overcome the division of Europe into opposing military blocs, the ministers again advocated the simultaneous disbandment of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact with the elimination of their military organizations as the first step.

6. The ministers noted that improvements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament are creating more favorable preconditions for the adoption at a regional level in Europe of measures aimed at reducing military confrontation and strengthening trust and security. In this connection they confirmed the great importance of implementing the proposals put forward by their states either jointly or inidvidually.

The states represented at the session expressed full support for and stressed their readiness to help to implement the following:

The Bulgarian and Romanian proposals on the creation in the Balkans of a nuclear- and chemical-weapons free zone and on the development of relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation among the countries of that region;

The GDR and CSSR proposals on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe;

The Polish plan on the reduction of armaments and the enhancement of trust in Central Europe, which would be of great significance for reducing the danger of a surprise attack and developing the process of disarmament and strengthening trust on the continent; and

The CSSR's comprehensive new initiative on the creation along the line of contact between the two alliances of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations aimed at the further development of the all-European process.

The ministers welcomed the joint proposal put forward in Hungary, Finland, and Italy containing an appeal to states not possessing nuclear weapons to step up their efforts in the interests of promoting the cause of disarmament in Europe.

7. The ministers believe the efforts aimed at strengthening stability in Europe must be augmented by resolute measures to reduce military activeness in the seas and oceans around the continent. They confirmed their support for the USSR's proposals on radically reducing military confrontation in northern Europe and the Arctic as a whole, on transforming that region into a zone of peace and cooperation, and on holding the necessary talks, consultations, and meetings among interested states for that purpose.

Emphasis was also placed on the need to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, security, and cooperation. The session participants positively rated the proposals aimed at achieving this and advocated the consistent and complete implementation of the sections of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Final Document concerning security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. The ministers welcomed the USSR's continuing readiness to withndraw its navy, including nuclear-weapon carrying ships, from the Mediterranean—on a reciprocal basis with the United States—and its new initiatives aimed at limiting the potential of the naval forces stationed there, coordinating confidence measures regarding this region, and ensuring the safety of shipping lanes.

8. The states represented at the session positively assess the results of the Belgrade meeting of Balkan states' foreign ministers as a contribution to the easing of tension and the creation of an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding in the Balkans. They support the readiness expressed at the meeting to continue and deepen the bilateral and multilateral dialogue at all levels, including summit level, for the purpose of strengthening peace, mutual understanding, security, and cooperation in this region.

9. The participants in the session attach particular importance to the Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, the most representative world forum in this sphere, and proceed from the premise that its work will affirm the concept of security through

disarmament and the other stipulations formulated in the final document of the First Special Session on Disarmament. They expect that the forthcoming special session will, on the basis of detailed analysis of the most important aspects of the arms race and disarmament talks, map out the main avenues for disarmament and strengthening of security, give a positive impetus to all relevant bilateral and multilateral talks, and adopt a decision on improving the negotiating and consultative mechanisms in this sphere and above all on boosting the efficiency of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The ministers advocate that the session's final document should be as meaningful and as specific as possible.

10. The ministers positively assessed the document, adopted by the 42d UN General Assembly Session, on the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security, which lays foundations for the development and deepening of international dialogue in this sphere. They advocated the continuation of consultations with all interested states on different aspects of the shaping of such a system, and emphasized the great importance of solving specific military-political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian questions for this purpose.

11. The states represented at the session confirmed the need for all countries to strictly respect the principles of national independence and sovereignty, the nonuse or threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful solution of disputes, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and the other principles and objectives of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other norms of international relations.

12. The session participants exchanged opinions on the seats of tension and conflicts existing in the world. They emphasized the need for their earliest possible political settlement and affirmed the determination of their states to actively contribute to this.

The ministers affirmed their countries' stance on the question of achieving a fair and all-embracing settlement and ensuring lasting peace in the Near East. They deem it extremely necessary to convene for this purpose an international conference under UN auspices with equal participation by all interested sides including the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council, and advocate that preparations for it be speeded up by using, among other things, the potential of the UN Security Council. The ministers condemned the Israeli authorities' actions on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

The ministers expressed serious concern in connection with the current escalation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. They spoke in favor of building up international efforts with a view to the earliest possible implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598. They noted the important role played by the United Nations and its secretary general for the settlement of this conflict.

An exchange of opinions took place in connection with the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. Support was expressed for the course of achieving national reconciliation in Afghanistan and the earliest possible political settlement of the situation on the basis of a halt to all interference in this country's internal affairs and respect for its independence and sovereignty. The ministers advocate the earliest possible conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks and the signing of documents constituting a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which will make it possible to embark on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It was noted that the solution of internal Afghan problems is a matter only for the Afghans themselves.

The ministers advocated a fair political settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the independence, unity, territorial integrity, and nonalignment policy of the Republic of Cyprus.

13. The session participants examined questions of cooperation among the allied countries in the foreign policy sphere and the state of these countries' collaboration in the world arena, and expressed their intention to continue to deepen and develop it.

The session proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session will be held in Budapest.

Shevardnadze Leaves Sofia

LD301334 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 30 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze today left Sofia for Moscow after attending a meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states.

At the airport he was seen off by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petr Mladenov and other officials.

Returns to Moscow

LD301618 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, arrived in Moscow from Sofia today.

He attended a session of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee.

Shevardnadze was met at the airport by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

The Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, Georgi Pankov, was among the welcoming party.

United States & Canada

Senate Committee Concludes INF Treaty Hearings

LD282135 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 28 TASS—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is concluding hearings on the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

It is to turn the treaty over for consideration by the Senate as a whole and adopt a recommendation for the latter.

The committee can either approve or disapprove the treaty or give no recommendation at all.

On the Capitol Hill they are convinced that the committee will, by an overwhelming majority of votes, recommend the Senate to endorse the treaty and agree to its ratification.

The last issue the committee members have to settle before adopting the recommendation is an amendment proposed by Senator Joseph Biden for the ratification bill. The amendment binds the future U.S. presidents to abide by the interpretation of the treaty given during the hearings on it by representatives of the Reagan administration.

The amendment is a result of fierce arguments between the incumbent administration and the Senate over the interpretation of another agreement, the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty of 1972.

Endorses Treaty

LD301859 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 30 TASS—The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the majority of 17 votes against two today recommended the Senate to approve the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range missiles and agree to its ratification.

The committee's recommendations will now be submitted for consideration to the full Senate.

Senate Committee Rejects Helms Amendment

PM290817 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "'Hawk's' Attempt Rejected"]

[Text] Washington, 26 March—Senator Jesse Helms, renowned for his nonacceptance of any agreements with the Soviet Union, has once again tried to torpedo the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. But this time the latest "amendment" that he submitted in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee demands that the U.S. President present the Congress with "incontestable proof" that the Soviet Union "is not concealing the true number" of its intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The White House, the Pentagon, and the State Department have already stated on several occasions that they have no grounds for doubting the accuracy of the data provided by the Soviet Union. The senators rejected this "amendment" by 15 votes to 2. Claiborne Pell, committee chairman, stated that the results of the voting illustrate that the final stage of the committee's review of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is nearing a successful conclusion and that the committee will ratify the treaty by an overwhelming majority.

However, the entire course of the hearings in the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee shows that there is still an abundance of problems which could crop up in the course of the upcoming examination of the treaty by the full Senate. One of them is the demand of Helms and his confederates that the committee refuse to examine Joseph Biden's amendment, which aims to force the administration to strictly observe the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles for all time. The need for such an amendment has been caused by the fact that the administration, in clearing the way for SDI, has stated its committment to the "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM Treaty, which does not correspond with either the spirit or the letter of this document as ratified by an overwhelming Senate majority.

Gen Galvin Holds 'Stone Age' Deterrence Stance

PM291305 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Melor Sturua article: "General Galvin's 'Bricks'" under rubric "Publicist's Notes"]

[Text] REUTER correspondent Richard Belmfort [name as published] recently interviewed U.S. General John Galvin, supreme commander NATO Allied Forces Europe. Describing Galvin's headquarters in Mons (Belgium), the correspondent communicated a highly curious detail: It appears that "among the military works in the general's office there is a copy of Mikhail Gorbachev's book on restructuring with a large number of notes in the margin."

Yes, this fact reveals a great deal. We will not be too hasty in drawing conclusions, however. The fact of the matter is that reading has obviously not done the general any good. He claims that restructuring has had absolutely no effect on Soviet military policy and that "the Soviet military threat to the West has not diminished."

Chronologically, this statement was made at the time of the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers in Berne and on the eve of the Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting in Washington.

I am not just incidentally drawing attention to the chronology. Gen Galvin has voiced a vote of no-confidence not only in our restructuring process but also in his own leadership. He believes that "American policy in arms control could undermine the nuclear defense strategy." The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles arouses "irritation" in Galvin, as it does in his predecessor, Rogers. Why? Because "withdrawing the American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles is like removing the bricks from the wall of defense."

Gen Galvin and those whose views he expresses intend to impose their own brand of "restructuring" on the world with the help of their own highly specific "bricks." Not without reason has the general said that he "considers it his task to restore the wall" destroyed by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This is exactly the kind of construction work of which it is commonly said that no stone will be left standing afterward. In this particular instance we are not just talking about the "hoary stones" of Europe.

As you well know, NATO supporters of the policy to "modernize" and "compensate" the West's nuclear potential are attempting to justify it by claiming that there is an imbalance in conventional arms and armed forces in the Soviet Union's favor. Gen Galvin does not stoop to justifications like these. Parity is not to his liking. The only thing to satisfy him are nuclear "bricks." "We do not believe," he has frankly said, "that even when we have parity in conventional forces we will have a sufficiently strong potential to deter a war.... Deterrence will still have to be secured by nuclear forces." So there you have it.

From the window of Gen Galvin's NATO office you can see an underground bunker to which he must transfer his staff in the event of a war. To be more precise, the bunker itself is not visible, but the grassy hill rising above it. But neither book reading nor this visual aid have done anything to teach him to be a skilled bricklayer. As if to justify himself, he says: "What more can one expect from a military man?"

One can expect restructuring, Your Excellency, and new political thinking instead of Stone Age ideas.

Shultz To Begin Mideast Tour 3 April
LD271143 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 27 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will again set out on a tour of a number of Middle East countries next week.

Charles Redman, a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said on Saturday that in the period of April 3 to 8 Shultz would visit Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. According to the State Department's announcement, the principal aim of the tour is "to continue to work to develop and clarify" the proposals put forward by the administration for a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The spokesman pointed out that the U.S. proposed plan is still on the negotiating table. The plan, which Shultz intensively publicized during his recent "shuttle tour" of the countries of the region, envisages, in particular, the introduction of a 'limited self-government' regime for Palestinian population in the Israel-occupied territories.

However, even despite the fact that the U.S. Administration's Middle East "initiative" rules out the establishment of an independent Palestinian state and is aimed at removing the PLO from independent participation in a settlement of the Middle East conflict, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir publicly declined to support the plan. During his recent visit to Washington, he emphasized his "serious reservations" as regards the American plan.

Seeking to give a "new impulse" to the deadlocked efforts to push the U.S. plan through, George Shultz invited two Palestinian Americans—Edward Sa'id, professor at Columbia University, and Ibrahim Abu Lughud, head of the Department of Political Science of the Northwestern University in Illinois, to the State Department on Saturday for an "exchange of views". The two are mambers of the Palestine National Council. This step which is obviously designed to win the trust of Arab countires on the eve of the new trip by Shultz to the Middle East caused exasperation in Israel. Yitzhak Shamir stated a protest to the U.S. ambassador in that country, Thomas R. Pickering.

At the same time Shimshon Arad, the Israeli ambassador to the United States, emphasized in Washington Tel Aviv's "opposition" to Shultz's meeting with the Palestinian representatives, describing that as a violation of the U.S. commitment assumed in the 1970s not to recognize the PLO and not to conduct talks with it.

Following the conversation in the State Department, Edward Sa'id told journalists that the two Palestinian Americans had made it clear during the meeting with Shultz that "all Palestinians regard the United States as directly involved in the repression (being practised by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories—note by TASS) since it is clear to everyone that the United States supports Israel and supplies it militarily and economically to an unprecedented degree."

House Approves 'Humanitarian Aid' for Contras

LD311025 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 31 TASS—The U.S. House of Representatives has approved new aid to Nicaraguan contras, stipulating that it cannot be military, as was sought by the Reagan administration.

By 345 votes against 70 the House approved on Wednesday the bill on granting contras "humanitarian aid" of 16.2 million dollars within the next six months to purchase food products, clothing, medicines and to make payments to members of their families. Another 1.5 million dollars are allocated to purchase communication means. The House of Representatives thus allocates a total of 17.7 million dollars to the contras.

To make the bill more acceptable to those who declare against any support to the anti-governmental forces in Nicaragua, "humanitarian aid" included, the leadership of the House of Representatives also envisaged the allocation of 17.7 million dollars for a programme of medical aid to Nicaraguan children, war victims in that country.

The bill has gone to the Senate for consideration.

U.S. 'Flagrant Interference' in Panama Charged

LD281730 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Panama City March 28 TASS—TASS special correspondent V. Golenkov reports:

The authorities of Panama have announced a decision to occupy the buildings of the flour mills of the sector's two major companies the owners of which joined in the nation-wide strike provoked a week ago by the opposition "National Civic Crusade" Association at Washington's bidding.

The measure has been taken with a view to setting up the provision of population with bakery products the shortage of which the country has begun to feel acutely now.

The ongoing strike along with U.S. tough economic sanctions has virtually paralyzed all industrial and trade activities in this Central American country, creating serious difficulties for the population.

Commenting on the state of affairs in the Panamanian economy, Ambler Moss, former U.S. ambassador to Panama, has emphasized that Washington's sanctions had already inflicted a tremendous damage upon the country's financial system. In an article published by the newspaper LA REPUBLICA, he strongly condemned the blind obstructionist attitude to the Panamanian authorities on the part of right-wing forces involved in the strike.

The U.S. policy of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Panama gives rise to protests among Americans who work in the Panama Canal Zone. Local television reported that they had staged a series of demonstrations in the so-called American zone adjacent to the Panama Canal, calling for normalization of U.S.-Panamanian relations.

It has become known that the first international meeting of solidarity with Panama opens in the Panamanian capital today. Political and public figures from twenty-seven Latin American countries have arrived here to attend the meeting the aim of which is to increase support for the Latin American country which experiences the deepest crisis in its history, the crisis which has been brought on by the U.S. undeclared war against Panama.

Madrid March 28 TASS—About 400 National Guard soldiers were sent from Puerto Rico to Panama on Monday to participate in American military exercises there, the EFE news agency reported. The day earlier 118 Puerto Rican Guardsmen arrived at the U.S. Air Force Base Howard located in the Panama Canal Zone.

The Puerto Rican public at large condemned the U.S. decision to use National Guard troopers for interference in the affairs of Central American countries.

Carlos Gallisa, general secretary of the Puerto Rican socialist country, stated that the step by Washington was an evidence of the converstion of the National Guard into an instrument for the pursuance of an aggressive policy.

Caribbean Basin Maneuvers Planned 1 April

LD260938 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 26 TASS—The U.S. land, air and naval forces will hold major manoeuvres, codenamed Ocean Venture '88, on April 1 in the area of the Caribbean basin. This was announced by a Pentagon spokesman on Friday. According to the spokesman, the three-week exercise will involve more than 40,000 servicemen: 14,000 seamen, 5,600 marines, 16,500 paratroopers and pilots, and special units representing all armed services of the USA. Used in the exercise will be the Forrestal nuclear aircraft carrier, advanced jets, including fighter bombers B-52, assault and other hardware. The Pentagon spokesman stressed that the aim of the exercise was to show the capability of the USA to protect its national interests by supporting friendly neighbouring countries. He denied allegations that the manoeuvres were in any way linked to the recent events in Panama and Honduras, noting at the same time that it was a usual military exercise held every two years.

However, these assurances are belied by the unceasing build-up of the military might of the USA in Central America, Washington's permanent interference in the

internal affairs of the countries of the region, and its striving to topple the governments it does not like. The sending of a large contingent of American troops to Honduras for the military blackmail of Nicaragua and destabilisation of the Sandinist Government, and the U.S. striving to deal with the present government in Panama, where additional American troops were sent, have caused an outcry in the world. It is not for nothing that the programme of the announced manoeuvres provide for holding operations to evacuate the families of American servicemen from Puerto Rico to the Pentagon's military base in Guantanamo. According to the UPI news agency, such a situation is likely to emerge in Panama.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Asks South Korea To Choose Talks Date

LD301412 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 30 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) proposes that the South Korean side choose itself a date for holding a preliminary meeting for preparing a joint conference, says a statement issued here by the representative of the preparatory commission on holding a joint conference of the North and South of Korea.

This initiative, the statement notes, is prompted by the desire "for opening this year a new prospect for achieving national reconciliation and unity" in Korea. The DPRK has twice proposed specific dates of a preliminary meeting; however there has been no reply to these proposals. More, Seoul makes attacks on the DPRK, and recently started the large-scale war games "Team Spirit-88" jointly with the USA.

The statement expresses the hope that the authorities, political and public leaders of South Korea will respond, after all, to the proposals made to them.

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Body Viewed

OW300945 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 29 Mar 88

[From the "Friendship and Good-Neighborliness" program]

[Text] The Soviet Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation was inaugurated as a state committee on 25 March. Members of the committee include representatives of Soviet state and public organizations and of trade, economic, and science-technology circles. The purpose of the committee is to help accelerate development of the USSR's Far East region on the basis of the expanding Soviet trade and economic ties with Asian and Pacific countries, and to be instrumental in making the Far East region part of the Asia-Pacific region's intensive economic process.

Commenting on the committee's future activities, [name indistinct], chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Pacific and Southeast Asian Affairs Department [as heard], referred to Japan's role and said: USSR-Japan trade, economic, and scientific-technological exchanges can be said to be some of the most developed. Japan is the Soviet Union's biggest trade partner in the region. Total value of Soviet-Japanese trade in 1987 was as much as R2.6 billion, even though it was not the best year.

Other forms of economic exchange are also on the increase. At the 11th joint session of the USSR-Japan and Japan-USSR economic cooperation comittees early this year in Tokyo, the two sides discussed further expansion of trade and economic exchange and supplementary measures to help develop new-type exchanges. We know that Japan is a powerful member of the many economic organizations in the region, including the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference. We have already made contact with the Japanese Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation and are discussing our participation in the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference.

The new Soviet Committee for Asia and Pacific Economic Cooperation will work to revitalize Japan-USSR exchange not only in bilateral trade, economic, and science-technology matters but also in other international and regional affairs. We are also making satisfactory progress in our cooperation with regional organizations of Asia-Pacific nations.

Meanwhile, Obminskiy, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's International Economic Relations Administration, added: Let me cite a specific instance of new-type Soviet economic cooperation. Recently, a Soviet-Japanese joint venture went into operation in Irkutsk. It is a joint venture of Japan's Tairiku Boeki Company and the Irkutsk Lumbering Enterprise, a Soviet forestry development and lumbering company. This may be called the first achievement; both sides are considering additional projects which all seek development of joint ventures as a new-type economic exchange.

Hokkaido Public Opposes Anti-Soviet Campaigns

PM251441 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Hokkaido: Different Symbols"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Japanese call Hokkaido the "white island" owing to the abundance of snow. Severe frosts are rare here and therefore the snow is sticky, which the organizers of the renowned snow festivals held annually in early February in Sapporo, the island's capital, make skillful use of. This year approximately 300 snow structures were erected on the city's streets. Mountains of snow on the city's main boulevard were transformed by

the efforts of skilled craftsmen into palaces the height of a three-story house, teams of coach and horses, figures of well-known literary heroes, large-toothed dragons, and graceful ballerinas.

But the activity of certain shady political forces could also be glimpsed amid the cheery bustle of the snow festival, seemingly far-removed from politics. Posters calling for the "return of the northern territories"—by which some people mean the four southern islands of the Kurile chain, others—all the Kuriles, and a third group—all that and the island of Sakhalin—were constantly to be seen. One slogan called upon the visitors to the festival to join the petition of "50 million signatures" supporting the aforementioned claims. The petitioners insistently called passersby over to their tables....

The intrigues of our country's enemies are particularly visible in Nemuro, which is in immediate proximity to Soviet borders. This city is reputed to be the main stronghold of the organizers of the revanchist campaign not only on Hokkaido but also throughout Japan. Banners daubed with the same pattern, all carrying the same provocative territorial demands, plague you on all the approach roads and also on the streets of the city. An entire complex of long-term installations designed to fan hostility among the Japanese toward our country has been built here in recent years not far from the city on Cape Nosappu, which is 3 km from the southern islands of the Kurile archipelago. They include the "history" exhibition building, where visitors are offered various false stories regarding the borders between our countries past and present. There is a curved obelisk intended to symbolize the revanchists' intentions to move Japan's borders northward. Finally, a third—the newest and largest construction—is the 91-meter-high mushroom-shaped ferroconcrete tower crowned with a circular viewing room, whence groups of visitors are required, in line with the anti-Sovietists' designs, to "gaze nostalgically at primordial Japanese territories."

From the windows of this room, which face northeast, a splendid view of our land unfolded. The weather was clear and, at a distance of many kilometers, the flat shores of the nearby Kurile Islands could be seen from the top of the tower. Optical devices mounted on the tower made it possible to see on the observation room's screens the magnified image of houses, a lighthouse, and even sea gulls on the shore.

A group of local journalists, who had come, it emerged, specially to interview the first Soviet person to come to this area in the last 10-12 years, clustered round me at the tower. I will cite the questions and answers, which were subsequently published in the local press.

"What do you feel and think when you look at the shores opposite and the Soviet border post?"

"I sense more acutely then ever before the proximity of our countries. And I think that our neighboring countries must without fail live in peace and good-neighborliness."

"Do Soviet people know about the Japanese territorial demands?"

"Yes. But our journalists exercise restraint in their reports about these demands since they do not want to arouse anti-Japanese sentiments in Soviet people."

"What is the attitude of Soviet people to the Japanese demands?"

"I will answer you with a question: How would you react to the demands of people who would like to evict you from your native home? That is the attitude not only of the Kurile inhabitants but also of all our compatriots to your demands."

"Did your country take these territories from Japan legally?"

"Quite legally. The incorporation of the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin in the Soviet Union occurred as a result of the defeat of Japanese militarism, which, together with Hitler's Germany, had unleashed World War II. The Yalta agreement, other agreements between the allied powers, and later, by the way, the San Francisco peace treaty signed by Japan itself were the legal basis for this. Historically the Kuriles are by no means 'primordial Japanese territory': Our country was the first to discover and settle them...."

Having made Nemuro the main stronghold of the campaign for the "return of the northern territories," each year anti-Soviet circles hold here a rally of extreme rightist organizations and other enemies of our country. Members of the Japanese Government, including prime ministers, depart from here in military cutters on ostentatious "inspection trips" to the shores of the Kuriles. Poacher fishing schooners are sent secretly from Cape Nosappu into the Soviet maritime economic zone. Representatives of the local public have indicated that the organizers of the revanchist campaign in the capital, who are endeavoring to deliberately destabilize the situation on our country's maritime borders, are the secret patrons of these operations. It is no coincidence that the Japanese border guard shuts its eyes to these violations and does not arrest the intruders either on land or at sea. A remarkable fact has also emerged: All the banners posted on Nemuro's streets and approach roads and all the revanchists' "symbolic" buildings on Cape Nosappu have been constructed unbeknownst to the local population. They were erected on the instructions of and using funds from circles in the capital close to the Liberal Democrats. Thus, the main subsidies for constructing the observation tower were given by Japanese millionaire Ryoichi Sasakawa, who has long been renowned as a patron of bellicose anticommunist, anti-Soviet organizations.

Numerous conversations with local public figures have confirmed that the political uproar over the "national movement for the return of the northern territories" is based on the close backstage cooperation between the central authorities and the leadership of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party and extreme rightist organizations, who act as this "movement's" strike detachment. It is these forces who initiated the holding of "Northern Territories Day" in recent years, which is used to fan anti-Soviet, chauvinist sentiments in the country. The orchestrated hooligan demonstrations by several hundred extreme rightist thugs 7 February this year on the streets of Tokyo in the area of the Soviet Embassy serve as an example of this.

But what is the attitude of the inhabitants of Hokkaido itself toward the Soviet Union?

I was received in Nemuro with special cordiality: Local leaders had an equally great desire to dissociate themselves from the anti-Soviet role which the Tokyo authorities have assigned the city. Leaders from city hall, the municipal assembly, the local chamber of commerce, and fishing organizations gathered for a meeting with this Soviet journalist organized by Kaiji Oya, the city's mayor. None of those present said a word about territorial demands, although many contentious issues were touched upon. My interlocutors did their utmost to stress their readiness to expand Japanese-Soviet business cooperation, above all in fishing. It became clear from subsequent conversations with Ryukichi Sato, president of the Chamber of Trade and Industry, and other leaders of local business circles that the role assigned to Nemuro as the seat of revanchism by the Tokyo authorities has brought its economic development to an impasse. It emerged that the city's economic life is on the decline, its population is falling, and local businessmen see the organization of direct business ties with Soviet citizens on the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin as the only real means of breaking the deadlock. Akiraka Koike, deputy in the Hokkaido Prefectoral Assembly, spoke indignantly of official Tokyo's pernicious policy which prevented Soviet Embassy and consular personnel from entering the city and which has also impeded other ties with our country.

The meetings and conversations with representatives of the "Habomai" Fishing Cooperation, whose schooners fish in the immediate vicinity of our shores in accordance with recent bilateral agreements on sea kale and sea urchin fishing, were friendly and good-neighborly. After affably greeting me in their cooperative, they asked about only one thing and nothing else—the prospect for further cooperation with the Soviet side. Meetings with the leaders of the country's largest fishing center in the city of Kushiro, including its mayor, Toshiuki Wanibuchi, took place in the same spirit of businesslike interest and friendship.

But on 7 February, when ultrarightists rampaged around the streets of Tokyo, I was on the other end of Hokkaido—in the area of the city of Wakkanai, from where you can see the shores of Sakhalin on clear days. Despite a blizzard I managed to visit the fishing settlement of Sarufutsu, near where the Soviet vessel "Indigirka" was wrecked and sank in 1939. The inhabitants carefully preserve and honor the memory of our 700 compatriots who perished in the catastrophe and who are buried in this settlement. The mournful obelisk which they erected on the shore indicates their good feelings, respect, and sympathy for our country. It was precisely these feelings that Katsuo Kasai, mayor of the settlement, and Kinichi Ota, chairman of the local assembly, who set up a House of Friendship with the Soviet Union here several years ago, expressed in a conversation with me.

The conversations in the city of Wakkanai were exceptionally warm. Its mayor, Tatsuo Hamamori, and other participants in the meeting talked about strengthening and expanding friendly contacts with the Soviet Union and, above all, with Sakhalin. They discussed animatedly the Sakhalin leadership's proposal regarding the organization of a regular ferry service between Wakkanai and Kholmsk. They all saw this proposal as a long-awaited opportunity to quickly revive the city's economic life and transform it into Japan's "northern gate."

No, I did not meet among the public of Hokkaido any out-and-out champions of those illegitimate territorial demands which the organizers of the anti-Soviet revanchist rallies in Tokyo are making much of. Even in a conversation with Takahiro Yokomichi, the island's governor, whose position accords one way or another with the central government's foreign policy course, questions of further expanding business contacts and cultural exchange between Japan and the Soviet Union were the dominating topic. Only at the very end of the conversation did the governor state in passing the existence of an "unresolved territorial question," accompanying this statement with the questionable remark that people making territorial claims on the USSR may supposedly include not only the enemies but also the friends of our country.

But is genuine friendliness compatible with the course of revising the results of World War II? The Soviet public's negative attitude toward such a formulation of the question is completely natural and cannot be otherwise. And the inhabitants of the "white island" do, by all indications, understand this. It is no coincidence that almost all those people on Hokkaido with whom I discussed the prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations preferred to talk not about fabricated revanchist subjects but about real urgent questions. The five houses of Japanese-Soviet friendship set up by the local public in Sapporo and other cities, wholly using their own funds and for the sake of a single noble aim—good-neighborliness between our countries' peoples—have become the symbol of the islanders' good intentions nowadays.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Views Security Issues in Philippines

HK301145 Quezon City MALAYA in English 28 Mar 88 pp 1, 6

[By Ellen Tordesillas]

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev Friday called the United States bases here "an anomaly—a remnant of the Cold War."

He also said the U.S. bases are "alien" in the Asia-Pacific region.

Rogachev granted MALAYA an interview before he ended his four-day visit last Friday.

The second ranking Soviet official to visit Manila after President Aquino took power in February 1986, Rogachev expressed candid views on regional security, including the presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

"The sooner those (the U.S.) bases are removed, the better will be the conditions for peace and stability in Asia-Pacific," the 56-year-old expert on Asian affairs said. Rogachev also criticized Japan for supporting the American militarist policy in Asia.

"In some instances, the Japanese Government is more Catholic than the Pope," he said.

Rogachev said his government has made specific proposals to the U.S. to reduce nuclear and conventional forces in the Asia-Pacific region, including those in Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base but it seems "the U.S. does not want to do anything in this sphere."

Following are excerpts from the interview:

Q. Foreign Secretary Raul S. Manglapus said your visit is useful to the upcoming bases review. How do you like the idea of your visit being linked to the bases review?

A. I don't see any direct linkage between my visit and the bases negotiation. We planned our consultations in Manila a long time ago. We did not plan this consultation to take place close to the bases negotiations with the Americans.

We, however, see that the Philippines is trying to be more independent in its foreign policy in observance of its own sovereignty.

Q. Sen. Leticia Shahani explained that the reason why it is useful is because of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. There are some provisions in the INF treaty which could be useful to the review. The Philippine panel could put these provisions across to the Americans during the negotiations. Do you agree with her?

A. In the INF treaty, we made an obligation to destroy all medium-range missiles in the eastern side of the Soviet Union. We made this obligation to speed up the conclusion of the INF treaty. I think this part could be taken into consideration by the Philippine government.

We can even go farther. We have far-reaching proposals on the cessation of arms race in the Asia-Pacific region. Unfortunately, we do not see any response from the other side.

Q. In your April meeting with U.S. Undersecretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur, are you going to propose verification of nuclear arms in U.S. bases in the Philippines?

A. The question about military bases is not political but mainly military. We have an impression that the other side does not want to start negotiations with the Soviet Union at the level of experts as it was done during the negotiations on the INF treaty. But in any case, in our negotiations with Sigur, we will insist on the fastest way to begin negotiations.

Q. Will your talks with Sigur include the concept of the INF being applied to Asia-Pacific?

A. Certainly, we will talk about the INF treaty. But the major point in these talks would be how to conclude the next treaty on 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive nuclear weapons.

Our Filipino colleagues, during our talks here in Manila, told us that the Philippine side is very much interested in the signing of the next treaty because it will cut down by 50 percent strategic offensive arms. The Philippines holds that this treaty will produce a very strong, positive influence on the situation in the whole region, including the problem of U.S. military bases here.

Q. I'll ask it the other way around. You are saying that the treaty will have an effect on the bases here. Would the bases here have an effect on negotiations on nuclear disarmament between the US and the Soviet Union?

A. If the military bases in the Philippines will be removed, it will be a major contribution to the reduction of the nuclear arsenal of both countries, the USSR and the U.S. But we still do not see a sincere desire on the part of the U.S. to start talking specifically about the reduction of military bases abroad. The U.S. bases in the Philippines, Japan and other parts of Asia and Pacific region are part of the U.S. global strategy. This global strategic plan answers the military interests of the U.S. but not the people of the Asia-Pacific countries. When time comes, these bases will become more and more of an anomaly—just like the remnants of the Cold War. The sooner these bases will be removed, the better will be conditions for peace and stability in Asia-Pacific. I tell you, truly, that I think these bases are alien in the Asia-Pacific region.

Q. Why do you say the bases are alien (in Asia-Pacific)?

A. Because they do not meet the interests of the people of countries where these bases are stationed. These bases meet only the interests of the U.S. And the interest of the U.S. are to keep their military superiority in the region. Their main goals of nuclear deterrenace, pushing communism back and other doctrines emanate from the time of the Cold War.

Q. Some quarters say that the INF has made the U.S. bases in the Philippines more important in the balance of power in the region because the U.S. is ahead of the USSR when it comes to nuclear weapons while the USSR is ahead of the U.S. in conventional weapons. Since the U.S. bases here are more for conventional weapons, the INF has in effect made it necessary for the U.S. to hold on to them to maintain the balance of power in Asia-Pacific.

A. In the US there are some groups that are not interested in the cessation of arms race. After the INF treaty was signed, a lot of new concepts (were raised). They urged the president of the United States to refrain from further action in the reduction of nuclear weapons.

If you talk about Europe, there's an emerging theory of compensation for the reduction that were made under the INF treaty. Those saying that the Soviet Union is far ahead in conventional weapons are not telling the truth. The history of forming the military forces of the Soviet Union and the U.S. is completely different. We live in different conditions. If one's measurement is the number of tanks, the Soviet Union is ahead of the United States. But if we talk about naval forces, the U.S. is far ahead of the Soviet Union. This is just one of the examples. We can tell you more.

We are ready to balance the conventional forces of the Soviet Union and the U.S. by reducing the number on both sides. General Secretary Gorbachev has a specific proposal concerning Asia-Pacific. We have another set of proposals for Europe. Negotiations in Europe are going on although we do not have major results yet. But in Asia, this type of negotiations has not yet started. The U.S. does not want to do anything in this sphere.

It's pity but the Japanese Government actively supports the U.S. in this position. In some instances, the Japanese Government is more Catholic than the Pope himself.

An example: just before the signing of the INF treaty, the Japanese Government talked a lot about the Soviet nuclear missiles in Asia threatening Japan. We took into account this Japanese concern and we agreed to eliminate the medium-range missiles in Asia. Now, take a look at what the Japanese are doing. They have forgotten completely about their demand. They say nothing about eliminating medium nuclear missiles in Asia. Moreover, they join the U.S. military circles in saying that the Soviet threat in the Pacific is growing and Japan should increase its military efforts. At the same time, Japan and the U.S. do not want to set negotiations.

We have put forward specific proposals to stop the arms race in this region. We do not think our position is the ultimate truth. We agreed to receive specific consideration of other sides if they are directed at practical reduction of arms race in the region.

The Philippines is one of the most important countries in Southeast Asia. We hope it will continue, by itself, to contribute in the relaxation and cessation of arms race in the region.

Q. There is talk that the U.S. because of its budgetary problems, cannot afford to sustain its military buildup in the region. That's why the idea of Japan's possible support for the U.S. Do you view this as a problem? Do you see Japan as a potential threat to the Asia-Pacific region?

A. Japan is slowly becoming a military power. Japan has already overcome the limit of one per cent of national gross product for military spending. Japan has also overcome the largest NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) country in military expenditures.

Taking into account the level of technological development in Japan, it is very easy to convert this achievement into military uses. Japan has agreed to take part in the Strategic Defense Initiative (U.S. Star Wars program). That's why we are so concerned about it.

One illustration: China which has very good relations with Japan has started talking about threats from Japan and we find these sort of articles in the Chinese media.

Q. Are you worried about Spratleys, considering the recent hostilities in the area?

A. Certainly we are worried. Our position is that this problem should be resolved by peaceful negotiation. We urge all sides to abstain from using military force. It is not a bilateral dispute. It involves several countries.

(Note: The Spratleys group of islands is being claimed by the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Malaysia and Taiwan).

Q. But the armed hostilities are only between China and Vietnam?

A. For the time being.

Q. The Philippines is strategically located in this part of the region. It is said that regardless of whether the U.S. bases are here or not, in the event of an armed conflict between the superpowers, it is bound to be attacked by the Soviet Union, not necessarily because of the bases but because of its strategic location.

A. (By Soviet Ambassador Oleg Sokolov) Could you say one single, plausible reason why the Soviet Union should pose any aggression or any kind of an attack on the Philippines?

Q. Some anti-nuke advocates say that because of the presence of the U.S. bases here, some of the Soviet nuclear warheads are aimed at the Philippines. Is this true?

A. Nonsense. These allegations are probably from someone who does not want to see that our relations are getting better.

For thousands of years, the propaganda machine of certain countries form the image of the Soviet Union as the sole military power eager to send its troops to other countries to build military bases, to increase military forces, to unleash aggression. Listening to your questions and the nature of these questions, it seems that this propaganda is deep.

In 1985, General Secretary Gorbachev came to power in our country. In our foreign policy in recent years, we use the new kind of thinking. We are for the democratization of our international image. In our international relations, we apply the principles of "glasnost" or openness.

We respect each country's choice in their domestic and foreign policy.

When we came to Manila for consultation, we do not have any double thoughts concerning this protocol except the ideas contained (in the document). We hope our partners in the dialogue here in Manila and other countries will treat us similarly.

Vietnam Sends Note to PRC on Islands Dispute

PM301407 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "SRV Foreign Ministry Note"]

[Text] On 26 March the SRV Foreign Ministry sent the PRC Foreign Ministry a note confirming the proposals made to the Chinese side 17 and 23 March on talks aimed at resolving the two countries' differences over the Truong Sa (Spratley) Islands and other border problems.

Until agreement is reached on starting talks the Vietnamese side proposes refraining from the use of force and avoiding military clashes which could increase tension in the region of the Truong Sa archipelago. The only correct route in accordance with the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples is to resolve the difference between the two countries by peaceful means, the SRV Foreign Ministry note stresses.

Commentary on Lao-Thai Border Dispute

BK311321 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1300 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The recent unofficial visit to the Kingdom of Thailand by General Sisavat Keobounphan, representative of the Lao General Staff Department, has received extensive press coverage both in Bangkok and Vientiane. The mass media paid special interest to a statement made by Gen Sisavat Keobounphan upon his arrival in Vientiane from Bangkok. Speaking to the press, he stressed: The key to resolving the regional conflict between Laos and Thailand is to achieve genuine justice for both sides and to remain patient. Therefore, it is necessary that a new round of talks must be held.

What is the cause of all the difficulties facing the Lao-Thai talks? It appeared that the two sides were very pleased to hold talks in the initial stage. Thanks to the initiative of the Lao side and the positive response from their Thai counterpart, an agreement was reached to end the fighting in the border area in the Lao District of Boten and the Thai district of Chat Trakan. Subsequently, troops have been withdrawn from the area.

In Bangkok and Vientiane, the delegations of the two countries discussed together the problems between the two sides. The latest official letter was sent by the Lao Government, reaffirming that the Lao Government delegation is ready to go to Bangkok to continue the negotiations. According to press reports, leading circles among the people in the Kingdom of Thailand want to take advantage of this good opportunity to resolve the conflicts and to restore friendly and neighborly relations with Laos.

It should be noted that Gen Sisavat Keobounphan paid an unofficial visit to the Kingdom of Thailand as a private guest of Geneyal Chawalit Yongchaiyut, Thai Army commander in chief. Of course, not everyone in Bangkok was willing to make efforts to solve the Thai-Lao border problem. Certain circles have even suggested that the negotiations be (?halted) so that settlement would not be achieved. The Lao side is of the view that the task of the delegations of the two governments is to find a venue to settle the border problem of Boten District and Chat Trakan District, so that the cause of tension will be checked and the way will be paved for solving other problems as well. Part of this task is to effectively reactivate the Joint Border Coordination Committee established in accordance with the spirit of the 1979 Joint Communiques.

The difficulties obstructing the negotiations have not been caused by the Lao side but by those elements who are bent on undermining the negotiations so that the border conflicts between the two countries will be prolonged in accordance with the policy of confrontation pursued by the external forces.

Will these difficulties be overcome?

The Lao side is of the view that they can be overcome. Speaking on this issue, Lao leader Kaysone Phomvihan declared that the Lao side's stand is based on its intention to fulfill its part in improving good relations with Thailand, so that the two countries will be cohesively united to restore peace and stability together in Southeast Asia. He stated this stand at a rally to hail the agreement reached to end the border conflicts between the two countries.

Trade Union Delegation Ends Visit to Burma

LD302121 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Rangoon March 30 TASS—The Soviet Trade Union delegation led by Avgust Zitmanis, chairman of the Council of Trade Unions of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, wound up its visit to Burma. The representatives of Soviet trade unions held talks with the leadership of the workers' and peasants' organisations of Burma, visited the cities of Mandalay, Taunggyi and Pagan where they met with workers of textile and jute industry enterprises and the chemical fertilizer works.

The meetings focused on issues of restructuring the economic mechanism in the USSR and the role of Soviet trade unions in the process further to democratize life in Soviet society. The Burmese working people showed interest in the way the law on the state socialist enterprise (association) is being implemented.

Briefs

New Zealand Envoy Arrives

Moscow March 23 TASS—Ambassador of New Zealand to the USSR John George McArthur arrived in Moscow today. [Text] [*LD250503 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT 24 Mar 88*]

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Talks Center on Military Aid 'Obstacle'

'Interim Government' To Be Debated

LD301907 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 30 TASS—The U.N. secretary-general's personal representative Diego Cordovez continued here today within the framework of the Afghan-Pakistani talks his informal meetings with the heads of the Afghan and Pakistani delegations and the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, Ambassador at Large Nikolay Kozyrev, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Peck.

Political analysts observe that the meetings were primarily concerned with the problem concerning the termination of Soviet military assistance to Afghanistan in exchange for the cut-off of American military aid to the forces seeking to overthrow the Kabul government.

This obstacle has emerged at the last moment at the initiative of the United States. All this, naturally, complicates the signing of the Geneva accords which are practically ready.

It was none other than the head of the Pakistani delegation, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani, who stated that the documents providing for a political settlement of external aspects of the Afghan problem have been agreed upon on the whole.

At the same time the Pakistani side is again seeking to raise the question related to the establishment of an "interim" government, a question that is outside the agenda of the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations.

As to the issue of the "interim" government, in the opinion of news analysts, the parties involved in the Geneva process agreed in principle to start debates on this problem using Cordovez's mediatory efforts.

Pakistan's Khan Comments

LD291259 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 29 TASS—Pakistan has no right whatsoever to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan by putting forward at the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva a demand that the so-called interim government be formed as a condition for signing the Geneva agreements, 'Abdul Wali Khan, chairman of the People's National Party of Pakistan, told a press conference in Peshawar. He also stressed that the border issue was a separate issue which should not be discussed at the current negotiations.

The Central Council of the National Front and the Central Council of Afghanistan's trade unions sent a message to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, in which they turned down Islamabad's attempts to impose the discussion of the border issue in Geneva. In contrast to the constructive stance held by the Afghan delegation, the Pakistani side raises this question and thus erects artificial barriers to a successful completion of the Geneva negotiations, the message points out.

Hatif Speaks at Afghan Conflicts Conference

LD301527 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 30 TASS—An international conference "The Role of the Public in the Solution of Regional Conflicts" is under way here. Speaking at today's meeting, Chairman of the National Council of the National Front Abdurrahim Hatif said at today's meeting that the

conference discussed the most acute problems of the present. The easing of tension, safeguarding of peace and prevention of war are the tasks faced by the peace forces. Seats of danger emerged and bloody conflicts erupted in various areas of the world as a result of the United States, bellicose policy.

The fratricidal war in Afghanistan is an example of a most tragic conflict. It has taken the toll of many thousands of lives over nine years. Expressing the will of the people, Afghanistan's leadership made an initiative for a peaceful solution of the problem, the speaker said. The proclamation of a policy of national reconciliation is a constructive step in this direction.

Afghanistan takes part in the Geneva talks for the purpose and assumed a constructive stand at the talks. "We hope that our peacemaking efforts and the efforts of our friends will achieve positive results. We believe that common sense will prevail despite artificial obstacles to peace placed by Pakistan", the speaker said.

Abdurrahim Hatif noted great importance of the statements of the leaders of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union for the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan.

Representatives of Kampuchea, Mongolia, Uganda, Nepal, Japan also spoke at the meeting.

Egyptian Minister Holds Economic Talks

LD301857 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—First Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR Aleksandr Kachanov held a conversation today with the Egyptian minister of reconstruction and for new communities and land reclamation, Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, in Moscow to attend the opening of an exhibition of Egyptian export goods.

The sides discussed questions of developing economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Egyptian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Salah al-Din Hasan Basyuni, took part in the conversation.

Reportage on West Bank, Gaza Strip Disorders

Upcoming Shultz Trip Viewed

PM310925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Pavel Demchenko under the rubric "Observer's Opinion": "What Is Shultz Taking Back With Him?"]

[Text] Washington has announced that U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz will soon be setting off on another visit to the Near East. His diplomatic baggage for the previous visit included a package of proposals aimed, so Washington claimed, at renewing the "peace process" in the Near East.

To all appearances, these proposals came into being under the active influence of the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories and the negative reaction provoked throughout the world, including in the United States itself, by the Israeli punitive action against the insurgents. Although far from every detail of Shultz' plan is clear, it is a well-known fact that it envisages giving the Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip so-called administrative autonomy. It is proposed to conclude an agreement on this at talks between Israel and a combined Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. It is planned to convene an international peace conference involving the five permanent members of the UN Security Council so as to camouflage these bilateral contacts. A conference, I would say, without any rights and obligations, that would be mere protocol and serve as nothing more than a kind of screen. Subsequently other talks would have to be opened to again discuss the fate of these same territories.

It is quite hard to understand all this. However, certain features immediately strike the eye despite the convoluted, vague nature of the diplomatic phraseology. The most obvious point is that they want to substitute Palestinian demands for political self-determination with limited autonomy while maintaining the Israeli occupation and subordinating local organs of power to the Jordanian Government.

It is also clear that Shultz intends to leave the PLO out of any negotiations, despite the fact that it is the legitimate, universally recognized representative of the Palestinian people. The organization's influence is shown by the following: When the U.S. secretary of state was in Jerusalem, he invited 15 prominent Palestinians to meet with him. These invitations remained unanswered: No one went to the hotel, because they were obeying the orders of the PLO, which said that only representatives it itself had appointed could take part in the meeting.

Nor must we forget that the occupied lands include the Syrian Golan Heights—some 1,000 square kilometers of fertile, once densely populated land. Can there really be any serious discussion of a Near East peace process without returning the Golan Heights to their rightful owner, as well as East Jerusalem?

All these circumstances taken together have predetermined the Arabs' attitude toward Shultz' visit. In the opinion of leading Arab newspapers, its aim is to find ways to end the Palestinian uprising and has nothing to do with trying to end the Israeli occupation.

As far as Israel is concerned, the U.S. secretary of state's proposals have still further deepened the split within the government. The faction led by Foreign Minister Peres has supported the American plan. Prime Minister Shamir has decisively opposed an international peace conference in any form whatever, as he considers it to be a concession to the Arabs. He reaffirmed his stand during his visit to Washington in mid-March.

U.S. diplomacy has been quite active these days. Its emissaries have visited several Arab capitals. Unexpectedly for many, Shultz met with two members of the PLO's supreme organ—the Palestine National Council (parliament)—Sa'id and Abu Lughud, who have U.S. passports. Israel immediately lodged an official protest with the United States about this. To some people, therefore, the U.S. stand may now seem to strike more of a balance between Tel Aviv and the Arabs.

It is still hard to say what exactly Shultz is taking with him to the Near East this time. I would just like to remind you of one thing: The experience of past decades seems to show convincingly that no one has a monopoly on a just Near East settlement. This is an international problem and can only be solved by collective means with the participation of all interested sides, including, of course, the PLO, which has gained new confidence in its own strength during the Palestinian uprising, now into its 4th month.

Security Council Opens Debate

LD310931 Moscow TASS in English 0723 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 31 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshov reports:

On Wednesday the Security Council started discussing the explosive situation on the Israeli-occupied territories at a request of Arab states. A delegation of Arab countries at a ministerial level arrived at the U.N. headquarters to participate in its work.

The foreign ministers of Algeria—Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, of Syria—Faruq al-Shar', deputy foreign minister of Saudi Arabia Muhammad Ibrahim Mas'ud, Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi pointed out that peace in the Middle East could be ensured only by the earliest convocation of an international peace conference under the U.N. aegis with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. They called on the Security Council to take resolute and efficient measures to guarantee the convocation of a conference in the interests of a stable and just peace in the Middle East, taking into account realization of inalienable right of Palestinian people to self-determination and establishment of an independent and sovereign state and ensurance of such a situation under which Israel will leave all occupied Arab territories.

Massamba Sarre (Senegal), chairman of the U.N. Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Right of the Palestinian People, Peter Zuze (Zambia) who spoke on behalf of the organization of African Unity, delegates of Jordan, India and Libya pointed to the inadmissibility of thrusting separate deals with Tel Aviv on Arabs at the expense of the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. They noted that the Security Council, especially its permanent members, were responsible for taking efficient measures to settle the Middle East Situation.

Faruq Qaddumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO Executive Committee, heavily censured the U.S. Middle East policy. He noted that the "Shultz plan" much touted by Washington was a rehash of the ideas of the bankrupt Camp David agreement and did not contain the main necessary element of a settlement. Washington denies, as before, the right of Palestinian people to self-determination and establishment of an independent state on their native land. The material and political support for Tel Aviv by the U.S. Administration and its constant misuse of the right of veto at the Security Council prevent the international community from stopping crimes of Israeli invaders and ensuring protection from death and destruction for the fighting Palestinian people who will never put up with the occupation.

Qaddumi called on the Security Council to take efficient measures to protect Palestinian people.

Soviet-Syrian Friendship Rally Held in Damascus

LD301208 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Damascus March 30 TASS—A massive rally of Soviet-Syrian friendship has been held in the Syrian capital. Addressing the rally, Fikryat Tabeyev, chairman of the board of the USSR-Syria Friendship Society, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, said that the reorganization (perestroyka) which is under way in the USSR had tapped boundless creative resources of the people. We need peace for the putting into practice of our ambitious plans connected with internal development, he continued.

"We proceed not only from our national interests, but also from the interests of humanity in general, we are guided by concern for a safe future of all the people on this planet. As a result of the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union the first ever treaty on the elimination of American and Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles was signed. The USSR puts forward constructive initiatives on the settlement of regional conflicts, on a wide range of international economic and humanitarian problems.

"On all the stages of the struggle of the Syrian people for freedom and independence the USSR has sided with it firmly and consistently. Soviet-Syrian relations cover the most important branches of economy. The USSR helps Syria in the training of the national personnel. A joint space flight of a Soviet and a Syrian cosmonaut is a vivid example of our cooperation," Fikryat Tabeyev said.

Wahib Tannus, president of Arab Syrian-Soviet Friendship Society and member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, who spoke at the

rally pointed out that the stand of the Soviet Union on the Middle East settlement was a major element in the stand of Syria which is countering the conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism. "We want durable and just peace to be established in our region. However, this can be achieved only on condition that Israeli troops are fully withdrawn from all the occupied lands and the lawful national rights are granted to the Arab people of Palestine," Wahib Tannus said.

He pointed out that the Syrian people wholeheartedly supported Soviet peace initiatives and together with the USSR came out for the creation of a nuclear-free world.

The rally was attended by ministers of the Syrian Government, a number of high-ranking party officials, statesmen and public figures of the country.

Marchuk Delegation Continues Visit to India

Meets Indian Scientists

LD300142 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1839 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Delhi, 29 Mar (TASS)—Correspondent M. Kapustin reports: Leading Indian scientists today welcomed as old friends their Soviet colleagues who have arrived here as members of a representative delegation headed by Academician G.I. Marchuk, USSR Academy of Sciences president. The Soviet guests visited the Indian Academy of Sciences and acquainted themselves with its multifaceted and fruitful work. At a solemn ceremony, the head of the Soviet delegation, Academician G.I. Marchuk, was presented with a diploma as a foreign member of the Indian Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]

Received by Gandhi

LD301210 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi March 30 TASS—India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has met here today with Academician Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Academician Marchuk leads a delegation of Soviet scientists attending the first meeting of the joint Soviet-Indian Council for the Coordination and Realisation of the Comprehensive Long-Term Program for Soviet-Indian Cooperation in Science and Technology.

The meeting covered questions in connection with a further development of multilateral and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in various fields of science and technology, basic research programs of much significance for both states. The Indian prime minister pointed out the great significance attached by the republic to perfecting cooperation between Soviet and Indian scientists, implementation of the long-term comprehensive program for cooperation in science and technology meeting of the interests of the USSR and India, of strengthening universal peace and mutual understanding among nations.

Cooperation Council Session Opens

LD310406 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] New Delhi, March 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Leonid Kotov:

The joint Soviet-Indian council for realizing a long-term program for scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and India opened its first session in the Indian capital today.

Speaking there, Professor C.N.R. Rao, chairman of the Science Advisory Council to the prime minister of India, pointed to the special importance of meetings between scientists of the two countries to carrying out agreements signed at Indo-Soviet talks at summit level.

He said the beginning of the council's work signified a new phase in bilateral scientific and technological cooperation.

Eighteen major scientific departments and various state organizations and agencies, Rao said, would be involved in the long-term program on the Indian side. It was, he said, the first time in the history of Indian science that so many scientists would pool efforts with Soviet colleagues in 60 to 70 basic research projects, applied efforts and exchanges of technologies and ideas.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, Guriy Marchuk, who is president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said the started work to fulfill the long-term program was creating a dependable basis for upgrading direct ties between Soviet and Indian scientists and research institutions of the two countries.

Speaking of the more important tasks for the next few years, he mentioned the forming of joint Soviet-Indian groups of scientists, technology transfers under contracts, the practical use of results of basic research, and substantially increased exchanges of scientists.

The successful implementation of the program, Marchuk said, would provide the pivot for scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries, fill the relationship between Soviet and Indian scientists with new contents, and help raise it to a new level.

The first council session is being attended by Vasiliy Rykov, ambassador of the USSR to India.

East Europe

Exercise Commander on USSR-CSSR Maneuvers

PM301445 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Colonel P. Chernenko interview with Major General V. Malashkevich, first deputy commander of the Central Group of Forces, under the "From the Exercise Area" rubric: "Consolidating Experience, Learning Lessons"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] In the course of the joint military exercise conducted by the Central Group of Forces and the Czechoslovak People's Army our special correspondent Colonel P. Chernenko met with its leader—Major General V. Malashkevich, first deputy commander of the Central Group of Forces—and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Chernenko] Comrade Major General, how did this exercise differ from previous ones? What was new in the formations' and units' actions?

[Malashkevich] As is well known, the man best able to use modern equipment and weapons and best prepared psychologically and physically to operate under complex conditions is successful in a confrontation with a strong, vigorous, well-equipped enemy. The joint exercise was a test of such readiness for us and the Czechoslovak fighters. Its main feature was, perhaps, the fact that we mainly rehearsed questions arising from the fundamental provisions of the Warsaw Pact's new military doctrine.

What did the exercise indicate? I think that all those involved were able to see for themselves, for instance, that even when taking defensive action troops have many opportunities for employing diverse effective and vigorous forms and methods of action. That is just one element.

The tank battalion commanded by Guards Major G. Shportko was faced with the task of holding a tactically important hill. The defense area was equipped in a short time and an effective firing system organized. By continually carrying out reconnaissance, the battalion commander was able to determine in time the instant the "enemy" attacked. When the "enemy" stopped, the tank crew members moved to counterattack and pushed them back to their forming up positions.

As we can see the tank crew members acted vigorously and energetically. I must note that this was generally typical of the troops involved in the exercise.

[Chernenko] A commander's most important quality is the ability to command subordinates in combat. How do you assess the commanders' actions from this viewpoint?

[Malashkevich] The exercise highlighted both the positive and negative aspects of the commanders' work. I have already talked about Guards Major Shportko, who skillfully commanded his subordinates at all stages. Guards Colonels V. Demin and V. Svyatets, Major A. Yeriniyazov, Guards Captain V. Nikitin, Captain Yu. Gavrilov, Senior Lieutenant V. Voziyan, and Guards Lieutenant V. Mishin coped successfully with their tasks. But shortcomings were not avoided either. While the troops were operating positionally most commanders were, as they say, up to the task. But as soon as the ability to maneuver forces and systems was required and, naturally, officers' workload increased, some people clearly could not cope with the course of events. Thus, for example, Major V. Klokov, commander of an artillery division, on finding himself in a complex situation, did not have a firm enough grip on the subunits and reacted tardily to changes in the tactical situation.

All this once again confirms that the anticipated breakthrough in certain commanders' thinking and psychology has not occurred as yet. Their attitude both toward their personal professional training and also to training subordinates is being restructured only slowly. We will without fail come back again to episodes in the exercise and analyze the successes and the failures. But it is clear from first impressions that there is still a great deal of work to be done to improve commanders' training. Primarily at the company and battalion levels. For it was obvious during the exercise that battalion and company personnel were poorly trained. This applies, particularly, to weapons and tactical training. But owing to miscalculations and mistakes on the part of certain commanders not everyone succeeded in realizing their combat capabilities and fully demonstrating creativity and initiative.

There is something to think about here. For we give the impression of having devoted considerable attention to commanders' training. The group of forces headquarters and combat training department recently took steps which, in our opinion, should help to reinforce its practical thrust. The emphasis was put on active use of advanced experience and the experience of leading commmanders. Much of interest emerged, for instance, in the organization of officers' vocational training in the units of the Irkutsk-Pinsk Guards Motorized Rifle Division named for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet commanded by Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Colonel V. Neverov. But, as can be seen, not all commanders have received enough practical experience of commanding units and subunits in contemporary combat. We will rectify the situation. I believe that officer found the present exercise very useful in terms of improving the professional level. Now the experience that has been acquired must be profoundly studied and made common property. [passage omitted]

[Chernenko] The exercise was a joint one. Are you satisfied with the cooperation between the formations and units of the Central Group of Forces and the Czechoslovak People's Army? Are there any unresolved problems here?

[Malashkevich] I cannot say that we have already organized and worked out everything impeccably. We were pleased with the actions of the men of the Czechoslovak People's Army motorized rifle battalion commanded by Senior Lieutenant M. Bosak. They acted skillfully on the boundary between subunits in defense. The companies commanded by Senior Lieutenants V. Dolezal and P. Kotrac fulfilled their tasks efficiently.

But, I repeat, there are problems. We will talk in detail about them when we sum up the results of the exercise. In particular, we evidently need to devote more time to the training period. It is probably worth thinking about a more specific exchange of advanced operations experience between the commanders of the Central Group of Forces and the Czechoslovak People's Army. In short, in the course of the joint exercise new possibilities opened up for strengthening our combat fraternity and enriching one another with the experience of organizing and waging modern combat.

Supreme Soviet Decorates CSSR's Vaclavik
LD302216 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Presidium Army General Milan Vaclavik, national defense minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has been awarded the Order of Lenin. This is in recognition of his greast services in strengthening comradeship in arms [boyevoye sodruzhestvo] between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak People's Army, and also on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Kadar Recalls Socialism's Formation in Hungary
LD271543 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 27 (MTI)—An interview was published with Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, in the latest issue of the political and literary weekly "OGONEK."

In the interview Janos Kadar recalls the difficult years of the formation of socialism in Hungary and reviewing the questions of the present days he concludes: Similar tasks are facing quite a few socialist countries' communists and nations. For us it is of especially great importance what in the Soviet Union goes on. The large scale transformation which is accomplished by the Soviet Union has a favourable effect on the whole of the world.

USSR-Hungarian Development Called 'Dynamic'
PM280905 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by I. Lang, secretary general of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: "Scientists Cooperate"]

[Text] Western scientists often ask me: "What does scientific cooperation with the USSR give Hungary?" Could a small country, I reply, really conduct its own independent scientific program in space and put a Hungarian citizen into space to study a whole series of medical innovations?

It is difficult today to find an example of more dynamic development of scientific cooperation than that between Hungary and the Soviet Union. Judge for yourself: In 1958 we jointly studied 7 scientific topics, in 1972 there were already 180, and in 1987 650. More than 200 Hungarian scientific research institutes and laboratories are now taking part in research work and dozens of Soviet and Hungarian ministries and departments have established direct links in the sphere of science and technology.

I would like to stress in particular that our scientific cooperation embraces the study of the most promising technical areas capable of speeding up our economic development. Hungarian compact lasers, the use of which has led to a technical breakthrough in a number of industrial sectors, for example, in mineral prospecting and medicine, have caused a real sensation in the world. The purpose-built instruments that have been produced are the direct result of Soviet-hungarian cooperation and may with every justification be stamped "Made in the Soviet Union and Hungary."

Thanks to Soviet cooperation scientific sectors like nuclear physics and isotope technology have grown up in Hungary and are developing successfully and a Hungarian atomic center has been constructed. With the participation of Soviet scientific research organizations Hungary has been able to resolve many industrial, scientific, and technical development tasks. Thus with Soviet assistance a new ball-bearing production unit was constructed recently and many instrument-making sectors are successfully developing. The Tisza chemical combine—one of the most modern in the world—a nonferrous metals plant, and the Budapest subway have been constructed from Soviet plans. Recently with Soviet assistance we finished the construction of Hungary's first atomic power station, which produces 1.8 million kilowatts and supplies the country with the world's cheapest electricity.

Soviet-Hungarian scientific cooperation has now entered a new phase of development: the extensive creation of joint scientific collectives. The recently created joint scientific collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Physics Central Research Institute is developing instruments for use in space and is carrying out

preparation for their use in the Soviet and Hungarian economies. The USSR Academy of Sciences General Physics Institute and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Physics Central Research Institute have set up a general scientific laboratory to manufacture laser instruments for scientific and national economic purposes. The USSR Academy of Sciences Molecular Biology Institute and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Biology center have formed a joint enterprise to do research in biotechnology.

Nor can I fail to mention our joint publishing efforts. Both academies are issuing joint Soviet-Hungarian scientific publications such as the journals "Management Problems and Information Theory," "Achievements in Kinetics and Catalysis," and others. They are printed in three languages and enjoy the recognition of the world scientific public.

We can, of course, considerably augment our scientific collaboration. It does not yet cover all the latest spheres of science and technology. Cooperation efficiency can be enhanced by speeding up research. Concentrating efforts on the main avenues of scientific and technical progress could yield considerable results. Direct contract-based links between scientific research collectives must also be developed. Finally, we believe there is an urgent need to create a highly efficient system for identifying the latest scientific results obtained in our countries with the aim not only of studying them as quickly as possible but also of introducing them into production.

We also have other problems. We lose a lot of time, for example, because of the practice of protracted deliberations in various offices that exists in the USSR. We very rarely receive prompt confirmation from the USSR Academy of Sciences of their agreement to accept Hungarian scientists for joint research and we often learn about the arrival of Soviet scientists only when they are already in Budapest.

I would like to conclude by saying that there is no other country in the world today with such an enormous scientific potential as the Soviet Union. In past years it has developed two-three times faster than the United States and now carries out one-third of all the world's scientific research. The USSR has achieved outstanding results in a number of leading scientific sectors: Soviet scientists were the first to develop the theoretical bases of rocket technology and have made a crucial contribution to the discovery of transuranic elements and the development of the theory of chain reactions.

The Soviet Union is a world leader in many areas. If it must, as has already happened more than once in history, it is capable of providing an effective and rapid response to any challenge issued, including the SDI program. In present conditions it is essential, in my view, to expand scientific exchange between countries with different social systems. It can be fully ensured if the nuclear arms race is halted and the political obstacles to equitable ties on a mutually beneficial basis are eliminated.

GDR's Stoph, Hungary's Kadar Meet in Budapest

LD302018 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Budapest March 30 TASS—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Janos Kadar received member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Willi Stoph here today. Willi Stoph is staying in Hungary on an official friendly visit.

During the talks that passed in a warm and comradely atmosphere, the sides exchanged opinions on topical tasks of socialist construction in Hungary and the GDR, on prospects for development of cooperation between the two countries. Discussing international matters, the sides highly assessed the efforts of socialist countries made in the interests of consolidating peace, achieving disarmament and developing international cooperation, their joint and individual initiatives aimed at achieving these goals.

Officers Receive Awards From GDR Ambassador

PM281125 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Text] On 25 March GDR Ambassador to the Soviet Union G. Koenig presented a group of Soviet military leaders with GDR orders awarded to them in recognition and high appreciation of their special services in the cause of strengthening fraternity between the GDR and USSR Armed Forces and to mark the Soviet Army and Navy's 70th anniversary.

Those awarded included Deputy Defense Ministers Army General I.M. Tretyak, Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, Army General M.I. Sorokin, and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov. Awards were also presented to Chief Marshal of Artillery V.F. Tolubko; Admiral of the Fleet A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff and first deputy commander in chief of Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; and other generals and admirals of the Soviet Armed Forces.

G. Koenig cordially congratulated the recipients of the awards on behalf of E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR Council of State and National Defense Council, and on behalf of the GDR National People's Army leadership.

On behalf of the recipients Army General M.I. Sorokin expressed warm thanks to the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of State, and the GDR Ministry of National Defense.

Major General H. Unterdoerfel, military, naval, and air attache at the GDR Embassy in the USSR, attended the award presentation.

CPSU Delegation Visits Bulgaria 21-26 Mar

PM300925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In line with the schedule for links between the CPSU and BCP, a delegation of CPSU party workers, headed by L.A. Ivanchenko, secretary of Rostov Party Obkom, was in Bulgaria from 21 through 26 March to acquaint itself with BCP experience of party direction of publishing activities. There were meetings and conversations at the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department, the Sofia City Party Committee, and the Veliko Turnovo Okr g Party Committee and with the leaders of the "Bulgarian Book and Printing" association, and a number of publishing houses and printing plants.

The delegation was received by S. Mikhaylo, BCP Central Committee secretary.

New Date Set for Bulgarian-USSR Space Flight

AU291430 Sofia BTA in English 1407 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The second Bulgaro-Soviet space flight will start on June 7 instead of on June 21, as was previously envisaged, the Bulgaro-Soviet commission preparing the flight announced.

We learned more details from Prof Boris Bonev, director of the Institute of Space Research with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and head of the Bulgarian side to the "Shipka" project: "The responsible astrophysical program of the flight could not have been completed in the former conditions because the full moon would make the nights from June 21 inappropriate for work on the "Mir" orbiting station. Here we have in mind the experiments with the "Rozhen" astronomical complex—an optico-electronic system of a new generation with considerable possibilities for processing the results of the observations on board the "Mir" orbiting station. Different objects will be studied with the help of "Rozhen" - stars, galaxies and nebulae. This complex will solve a wide range of problems which will be of use in the development of an optical orbiting telescope for the "Mir" station as well as of unmanned space apparatuses. One of the concrete tasks is the measurement of the optical radiation of different objects. Optical observations will be made simultaneously with the "Kvant" module.

Professor Bonev said that the changed date of the flight takes into account the training of the Bulgarian and the Soviet cosmonauts. Soviet, French and Afghan cosmonauts will work on the "Mir" station after them.

Vorotnikov Receives Montenegro Official

LD310414 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 88

[text] Comrade Vorotnikov today received [Igor] Jovovic, acting chairman of the Committee for Foreign Relations of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, Yugoslavia. He is in Moscow on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the RSFSR government. An exchange of views was held on the state of an development prospects for friendly links and cooperation in various spheres.

Taking part in the conversation, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was [Milan] Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

Lithuanian Communists Meet RCP Officials

PM300915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In line with the plan for CPSU-RCP ties a delegation of CPSU workers led by N.A. Mitkin, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was in the Socialist Republic of Romania 21-26 March. It was briefed on RCP experience in improving the work style of party organs and their collaboration with state and social organizations.

The delegation was received by I. Stoian, RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary.

Albanian Daily Publishes Article on Gorkiy

LD292041 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1858 GMT 29 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] It's not that often that we get reports from Albania in our programs. So it's all the more pleasing for me to cite a report from Tirana which says that the newspaper DRITA, the organ of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania, has devoted an article to the 120th anniversary of the birth of Aleksey Maksimovich Gorkiy. The article says that the name of Gorkiy has been well-known in Albania since the start of the century. Veterans of the

national liberation struggle remember how the novel MOTHER passed from hand to hand. Several years ago, the selected works of Gorkiy were published in Albania in seven volumes.

West Europe

EEC Advised Not To 'Gloat' Over Armenia Events

LD311404 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

The Soviet public was considerably surprised by the attempt of the Europarliament to teach the Soviet people how to solve their own internal affairs. The matter at issue here is the resolution adopted by this EEC body "On the Events in Armenia."

This document contains claims about "violations of the rights of the individual and the rights of nationalities" in the Soviet Transcaucasian republics, speaks about an intention to "keep a close eye" on the desire of its peoples "to assert their culture and autonomy", and virtually gives advice to the Soviet Government on how it should act on these questions. Finally, it tries to maintain that the events in the USSR could somehow "directly affect" the interests of the European Community.

Upon reading this resolution, one can only marvel. Since when, and by what laws, has the European Community claimed the right of "tutelage" over the Soviet republics? Or have the representatives of this community, who confer in the Europarliament, ceased to be interested in the problems and events which exist in the countries of Western Europe? Problems like the emergence of racism in a number of West European countries, conflicts between nationalities in Belgium and Spain, Italy and France, conflicts in which people's blood is being shed, often innocent people who are uninvolved in all this mass of problems. What, one may ask, have the Europarliament's resolutions on Ulster produced? For this still remains an open wound in relations between London and Ireland.

One could continue listing such problems and conflicts, but is there any point in doing so? The Euro-MPs are probably just as familiar with them as we are, just as they know about the flagrant ceases of "violation of the rights of the individual and the rights of nationalities" which occur in Western Europe. It is those problems that the esteemed deputies should be tackling, all the more so in that they will not have far to go. Apparently, however, precisely because they are not tackling this in earnest and because issues relating to mutual relations with the national minorities in the EEC countries are assiduously avoided by the Europarliament, the deputies of this supranational organ are trying to make up for their inactivity by showing activity in a field less offensive to them—by tackling the solution of relations between the nationalities outside the confines of the EEC.

The Soviet Union has no need of tutors in resolving problems in its own "home". It has always resolved difficult problems of relations between the nationalities exclusively within the context of the democratic process and legality, and will continue to do so, causing not the slightet harm to any of the peoples and nationalities but acting for their general benefit and cohesion.

It is possible, of course, that some of the European parliamentarians were not quite aware. But among those who initiated the above-mentioned resolution were evidently some who are profoundly indifferent not only to the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus, whose emotions they are not averse to stirring up, but also to the interests of people who are suffering deeply from the exacerbation of mutual relations between the national minorities in the countries of Western Europe. For our part, we would advise these latter not to gloat over other people's problems—that is a useless exercise—but to start putting their own house in order.

BBC Coverage of Armenian Events Criticized

PM311351 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 31 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by own political observer Grigoriy Oganov under the "Political Aspect of a Problem" rubric: "The BBC's Crocodile Tears"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The kind souls in the BBC are making special efforts at the moment. They have really seized hold of the Nagorno-Karabakh "topic," giving blanket coverage of the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia and loudly citing certain "reports by correspondents," although the BBC has no journalists in the region. Dismissing out of hand all official reports by the Soviet mass media, the BBC is unstinting in its "own" versions, being concerned essentially with inflaming passions, making irresponsible insinuations, and direct incitement. What is the point, for example, of the provocative hypocritical "concern at the position of the Armenian national minority in the USSR" and the radio station's "support" for the "Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians' demands for their oblast to be joined to Armenia." In London they are very keen to redraw borders which do not belong to them, hoping that this "will destabilize the situation." They want this so much that they even suggest to "Armenian activists" and "defenders of rights" that "they have this right under the constitution"....

The BBC's involvement in this unseemly propaganda campaign is also a classic piece of hypocrisy because they are camouflaging their gloating on the banks of the Thames with sympathy, shedding what are patently crocodile tears. The Transcaucasian republics have still

not forgotten that it was British interventionist officers who commanded the shooting on the banks of the Caspian of the 26 Baku commissars: the Armenian Stepan Shaumyan, the Azerbaijani Meshadi Azizbekov, the Georgian Prokofiy (Alesha) Dzhaparidze, the Russian Ivan Fioletov, and their comrades-in-arms, people of various nationalities, glorious leaders of the Baku commune, ardent fighters for Soviet power.

The anti-Soviet content of all the loud cries and the insinuating whispers of the BBC "specialists" are currently shown not just in the reaction to the Karabakh events but also in the unsolicited "advice" which the radio station gives us Soviet people regarding restructuring. "If people in the USSR were allowed to set up enterprises themselves, to operate others, and do much else that is permitted in the West," the radio station says tearfully and enticingly, "they would be able to make the country's economy the equal of America...." And again it persistently seeks to persuade people that "the legalization of private enterprises and the transfer of land ownership into private hands are necessary...."

And it frightens people by saying that "the nationalist outburst could lead to a complete crisis of the Soviet system in the very near future."

Wishful thinking is the hallmark of British imperialism's propaganda services. And the BBC has good teachers here. Like, for example, the eminently respectable TIMES. Serious researchers have lost count of the number of times this "solid" conservative newspaper told its readers in 1918 that "Soviet power was on its last legs," that, "if not today then tomorrow," the troops of Kornilov, Yudenich, or Denikin would be entering Petrograd and Moscow, and that "the revolution will be over with once and for all." Their expectations were not, however, to be fulfilled.

At the end of the thirties THE TIMES, which belonged to the reactionary aristocrats Lord and Lady Astor, did all it could to ensure the realization of Western Munichite politicians' obsession of bringing about a clash between the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany. The newspaper's articles virtually urged Hitler on: "Do not be afraid! Russia will not be able to resist crack German troops. Attack! Now is the time, do not let it slip...."

Sir Winston Churchill, whose celebrated Fulton speech was the signal for the Cold War and confrontation between the the United States and the USSR, effectively did the same thing after the war.

As we can see, the BBC is now treading a well-worn path. While the NEW STATESMAN magazine performs a triple somersault and draws the profound conclusion that the events in the Transcaucasus "should be regarded as the result of the reforms being pursued in the USSR."

The attack on restructuring goes on....

Further Reportage on Visit by PCI's Natta

Gromyko, Natta Attend Ceremony

LD301743 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], was presented with the Order of the October Revolution at a ceremony in the Kremlin today. The order was presented by Comrade Gromyko. The award has been conferred on Alessandro Natta for his services in the struggle for social progress, peace, and democracy, for reinforcing the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Italy, and in connection with his 70th birthday. On presenting the order, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko warmly congratulated the recipient, saying:

[Begin Gromyko recording] On presenting this lofty Soviet award to you today, I would like, above all, to say that your name, Comrade Alessandro Natta, is well known not only to Soviet communists but also to the progressive public throughout the world. It has a weighty and authoritative ring to it, because the whole of the difficult and happy destiny—that of a fighter for the working people's cause—which has fallen to your lot, is inseparably linked with the activity of the PCI. This is expressed in the consistent defense of the interests of the Italian working people and in the upholding of the ideals of peace, democracy, and socialism.

Your party comrades rate highly your adherence to principle in the struggle for the cause of the working people, and it was for that very reason that you were elected general secretary of the party in June 1984. In that post you are furthering the work of the best sons of the PCI—Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer—and are making a concrete contribution to reinforcing the unity of left-wing forces and to understanding the dialectics of universal human problems. The order of the October Revolution is a lofty and worthy state award. I congratulate you on receiving it on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government. Allow me to wish you good health, a large reserve of creative strength and energy, and success in your fruitful activities in the name of peace, socialism and friendship among peoples. [applause] [end recording]

Delivering a reply address, Alessandro Natta said:

[Begin Natta recording in Italian with superimposed Russian translation] I celebrated my 70th birthday several months ago, and I take the liberty of noting that, in a certain sense, I am a contemporary of the Great October Revolution. Would there be sufficient grounds for this award had almost my entire life not been devoted to our cause and to the political struggle, and had I not

fought in the ranks of the PCI since the time of the resistance movement and the war to liberate Italy from fascism? I have always fought in the ranks of the PCI for sound relations of friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and Italy and for the development of relations and cooperation between our two parties. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for the respect you display toward the general secretary of the PCI and, consequently, toward the struggle, positions, and activities of Italian communists in conditions of their complete independence. I accept this award in the awareness of the modesty of my services and with a grateful soul. Once again, I thank you, and for my part I would like to express the very best wishes, to wish the Soviet Union success in the cause of renewal, in the cause of restructuring, and to wish further positive and fruitful development of the relations between Italian and Soviet communists. [applause] [end recording]

Comrades Demichev and Dobrynin and other officials attended the ceremony.

Natta on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD302132 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 30 Mar (TASS)—"The conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was, in our view, interesting and positive as far as the method of a frank comparison of political views is concerned," Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] said at a press conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today devoted to the results of his visit to the USSR.

Replying to journalists' questions, the PCI general secretary noted that he repeatedly had occasion to meet and talk with Mikhail Gorbachev. I think, he said, that Gorbachev is a strong political personality, capable of seeing the long-term view, including the very long-term view, of bringing ideas up to date and of working out major projects. He is impressive for his good knowledge of specific problems, respect for the position of others, and his ability to listen to collocutors and to conduct a dialogue. Alessandro Natta noted that the PCI delegation members were greatly impressed by the CPSU leadership's activities to democratize not just intraparty life, but also the life of the whole of Soviet society. He especially stressed the CPSU's resolve to carry out the role of a political vanguard of society under the condition that the management and administrative functions should be carried out by other bodies, first and foremost the soviets. [passage omitted]

Appraising the situation that has taken shape around Nagorno-Karabakh, Alessandro Natta expressed confidence that such issues ought to be resolved by democratic methods, with due respect for the culture, independent development, and equality of all nationalities. [passage omitted]

The policy of restructuring in the USSR exerts influence also on the activities of the communist parties in the West, the leader of Italian communists said. The success of revolutionary transformations in the USSR is of interest to all progressive forces in Europe and the world. He expressed the view that the difficulties which have emerged in the USSR and which have become known as phenomena of stagnation have also exerted a negative influence on the international workers' movement. Interest in continuing the revolutionary process and in expanding democracy now prevails in the USSR.

Natta on Mediterranean Proposals

LD302217 Moscow International Service in Italian 1900 GMT 30 March 88

[Interview with Alessandro Natta, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Comrade Natta, the first question I would like to ask you is: What do you think of your meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Natta] I regard this meeting as extremely positive. It was an excellent opportunity to enter into a dialogue, to discuss things in a lively way—lively in the meaning which the Italians give to it: an informal, pleasant, friendly discussion in which we discussed a great number of problems. We talked about international problems, particularly European problems. We talked about Italy, the Soviet Union, the policy pursued by the Italian Communist Party, restructuring, and prospects for the Soviet Union and Europe. We hope that these are prospects for peace, development, and progress.

[Correspondent] The meeting lasted 7 hours [words indistinct].

[Natta] Yes. So we had a lot to say to each other. It also means that we tackled a series of problems seriously. Which problems did we discuss? We talked, for example, about the positions which are emerging in the West as regards the process of disarmament, detente, and the agreements already signed, which were a major event. I was on the side of the Soviet Union and the United States on the intermediate- and short-range missiles treaty and those agreements which are in the making. I favored strategic disarmament.

Later, we talked about how, for example, the problem of security and defense must be conceived of in Europe, in Western Europe. We Italian communists are of the opinion that European security problems must be seen within this framework of overall arms reduction, of detente and therefore also a reduction of conventional weapons.

There are some who would like Europe to rearm. This does not seem right to us. We talked about the problems of integration, unity in the European Community, and

relations between the EEC and CEMA, how one can succeed in making a policy of rapprochement, cooperation, which becomes all the more possible, in our view, when a policy of disarmament and detente makes headway, when it becomes smoother and easier. Therefore, we must also think about how to develop and step up a rapprochement, a political rapprochement in the form of economic cooperation in Europe which will be not only less armed, and less exposed to dangers, but also in a position to encourage [as heard] the differences which exist between social, political regimes of this or that part of Europe, this or that country, a prospect for development and well-being, a degree of civilization for the European people.

[Correspondent] In your view, what contribution to detente can the recent initiatives on the Mediterranean launched by the Soviet leader on his visit to Yugoslavia make?

[Natta] I remember very well the proposal which Comrade Gorbachev made during his visit to Belgrade. They seem very interesting to me. We, too, are of the opinion that a policy of detente and disarmament should help tackle security problems not only in Europe but also concerning the Mediterranean. As we say—and so, probably, do you—everything is interlinked. There is an interconnection. It would be unthinkable for Europe to be safe if we cannot resolve open conflicts in the Mediterranean, starting with the Arab-Israeli conflict, if we cannot succeed in getting the rights of the Palestinian people recognized, and at the same time in guaranteeing the security of the states in the region.

So we must confront these problems. There should be a disarmament policy in the Mediterranean. Europe is the part of the world which is the most overarmed with all types of weapons. The Mediterranean is the sea which is the most armed in the world, armed with ships, aircraft, and nuclear devices. So, we consider that to be a (?feasible) proposal, to start from a freeze, not to increase the presence of [word indistinct] arms in the Mediterranean, to then gradually decrease and eventually to evacuate. The Mediterranean should become a sea of peace, a large means of communication. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua's Defense Minister Praises Cease-Fire

LD310909 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0814 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TASS)—A TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

A 60-day cease-fire agreement comes into force in Nicaragua on 1 April. The agreement was signed last week as a result of complex and difficult negotiations between the Sandinist Government and the contra leadership. This day, in the graphic words of Humberto Ortega, Nicaragua's defense minister, could mark "the beginning of the end of the war."

Indeed, the next step in the negotiations between the Sandinistas and the leaders of the armed opposition in the little Nicaraguan village of Sapoa should be the conclusion of an agreement on the total and final cessation of military activities. Thus the way is open for the restoration of peace and tranquility on the long-suffering Nicaraguan soil and throughout Central America.

It is noted in diplomatic circles in Moscow that the signing of the provisional armistice agreement has been a convincing confirmation of the determination of the Nicaraguan Government to fulfill the obligations it undertook, together with the governments of other Central American states, under the Guatemala accords. As is known, these accords envisage the achievement of national reconciliation in the countries of the region by means of dialogue with the opposition.

In the Soviet Union, tribute is paid to the flexibility and persistence shown by the Sandinist Government in achieving a provisional cease-fire agreement. The hope is expressed in the USSR that the other side and those who support it will refrain from actions which could destroy this agreement, which is directed toward the total cessation of the fratricidal war.

If a similar responsible approach is in evidence in the other countries of Central America, a settlement in this region could become a reality.

U.S. Carrier Anchors in Panamanian Waters

LD310818 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Panama City March 31 TASS—The American helicopter-carrier "Okinawa" has cast anchor in Panama's territorial waters, near the U.S. Naval Base "Rodman". The helicopter-carrier has aboard a unit of Marines.

The local press qualifies the visit as an element of military pressure on Panama within the framework of the U.S. undeclared war against that country. Panama's newspapers write that Washington has not even deemed it necessary to notify Panama's authorities about the "Okinawa" visit.

Demichev Meets With Costa Rican Delegation

LD301653 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met in the Kremlin today a delegation from Costa Rica's legislative assembly, led by

Luis Valenciano Chaves, its vice president. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 31 March in its Second Edition on page 5 adds the following paragraph: "P.N. Demichev briefed the Costa Rican parliamentarians on the constructive work being done in the Soviet Union to accelerate socioeconomic development and carry out restructuring and renewal in all aspects of society's life."]

In discussing international issues, the sides expressed the conviction that at the current crucial period in the life of the international community all states, irrespective of their social and political systems, size and economic potential, should step up efforts to averting the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Much attention was given to questions of inter-relationship between disarmament and development, solution of foreign-debt problems facing developing countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

They discussed problems of the Central American region. Members of the Costa Rican delegation described progress of Central American settlement in which Costa Rica was taking an active part.

The Soviet side expressed support for the Central American countries' search for a fair and lasting solution to regional problems within the framework of the Guatemala accords along lines of national reconciliation, on the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of Central American states and the right of every nation to choose its own path of development.

The participants in the conversation expressed satisfaction with the present state of Soviet-Costa Rican relations and pointed to the existence of considerable opportunities for the further expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 31 March in its Second Edition on page 5 deletes the preceding four paragraphs, substituting the following: "The mutual desire was noted to deepen contacts and exchanges between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly."]

Chaves handed over to Demichev a personal message from President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica, addressed to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Uruguayan President Discusses Central America

PA301337 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 28 Mar 88

[News conference by Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti with unidentified reporters during his visit to the USSR; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Sanguinetti] Panama's situation is different from that of Central America in general since we could say it is a problem pertaining only to Panama. Naturally, as members of the Group of Eight, it concerns us. We are concerned over its power rivalry, its climate of peace, and all that affects these essential principles.

Panamanian democracy has had its ups and downs. It has lived through difficult times before. Naturally, the latest events worry us. We trust that a serene spirit prevails and that Panama may find a peaceful solution to its problems. What we do say is that the Panamanian solution must be Panamanian and should not be imposed upon or induced from outside.

[Reporter] Mr President, at this moment there is an added problem in Central America; namely, the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras. What is the Uruguayan position on the U.S. request for renewed contra aid?

[Sanguinetti] Uruguay has always opposed resumption of aid to the contras. We have said before and now reiterate: We oppose any act of intervention, meddling, or influence into any country or area. We say this in regard to the United States and in regard to any attempt like it by any other country. We feel thatc the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras is a step in the wrong direction, because anything that contributes to tension is without doubt negative.

[Reporter] Mr President, how do you view the prospects on compliance with the UN General Assembly resolution proposing the creation of a peace and cooperation area in South America? Will the proposal of Uruguay, Brazil, and other countries of the region be approved?

[Sanguinetti] The South Atlantic is the basic concern of this resolution. It is an idea that has been promoted with great eagerness mainly by Brazil, and to which our country added its name. We have been trying for some time now to create a favorable atmosphere for this region, which until recently had been spared from the phenomena of violence and has tried to return to peace. Naturally, we have had certain problems recently because of a conflict known to all between the United Kingdom and Argentina. We hope for a peaceful solution.

We hope that this conflict—one we could describe as chronic—does not develop further, and that the installation of arms, which could promote further tension, stops. We are optimistic about doing this. Trying to prevent bases or systems, which could compromise future peace in our region, from being installed is an international action that started not too long ago and is more of a preventive measure.

Political & Social

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Situation

Sumgait Officials' Censure Published

PM301711 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the question "On Major Shortcomings in Organizational Work Among the Population and the Political Shortsightedness and Inactivity of the Sumgait Party Gorkom Bureau in Preventing the Tragic Events in the City."

The resolution adopted points out that the Sumgait party gorkom displayed political shortsightedness and irresponsibility in organizing fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee instructions and the directives contained in M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The gorkom bureau, its secretaries, and the city soviet ispolkom underestimated the complex situation which had taken shape in the republic, did not take specific steps to boost vigilance and ensure public order in the city, and played a waiting game, which led to tragic consequences.

At the end of February this year disturbances were provoked in Sumgait by a group of hooligan elements. Unstable, immature people influenced by provocative rumors and inflammatory talk became involved in unlawful actions. Taking advantage of this outburst of emotion, criminal elements committed acts of banditry which entailed casualties from among various nationalities. These tragic events gave rise to unhealthy rumors and inflicted enormous damage on the age-old friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples.

The disturbances in Sumgait, the resolution stresses, were the result of major miscalculations in the work of the Sumgait party gorkom with regard to working people's ideological-political and international education, especially that of young people, and of city leaders' unconcern and shortsightedness. Under the complex situation a number of party, soviet, and economic leaders, the party aktiv, and the city's Communists showed indecision and confusion and underestimated the full danger of the consequences of the events that had arisen. Labor collectives were not mustered to curb the excesses and people's militia patrols were effectively inactive. Extraordinary, emergency measures were needed to restore and impose order in the city. The Prosecutor's Office is holding an investigation into the crimes and is exposing the ringleaders and rabble-rousers.

A great deal of the blame for the tragic events which occurred falls personally on Comrade D.M. Muslim-Zade, first secretary of Sumgait party gorkom. Despite repeated warnings he did not fulfill instructions regarding his immediate return from leave and ignored the decision of the republic's party aktiv regarding the immediate organization of work to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee's demands.

In the critical situation Comrade Muslim-Zade was unable to mobilize the party aktiv to struggle to normalize the situation in the city, displayed unforgivable arrogance, and failed to meet the demands made on a political leader. Elements of a superficial approach to resolving urgent questions, lack of self-control, ostentatiousness, and a desire to draw heightened attention to himself had previously manifested themselves in Comrade Muslim-Zade's actions and deeds. Believing his actions to be correct, he reacted incorrectly to critical comments.

The resolution stresses that the following people did not display the qualities required of party members and acted sluggishly, unenterprisingly, and without due persistence and principledness in the complex situation: Comrades M.A. Bayramova and A.Kh. Samolazov, secretaries of Sumgait party gorkom; Comrade T.Ya. Mamedov, chairman of the gorispolkom; and other members of the gorkom bureau. Uninformed about the state of affairs in the localities and having a poor knowledge of people's sentiments, they did not take timely steps to prevent the events which were coming to a head.

Nor did Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments exercise due control over the activity of Sumgait party gorkom.

The city internal affairs department (Comrade Kh.Kh. Dzhafarov) also proved professionally unprepared to counteract the elements committing the excesses. The attitude of unconcern and irresponsibility on the part of many officials of the city's law enforcement organs toward the execution of their official duties made it impossible to forestall the disturbances in time.

Thanks to the steps taken by the republic's organs the situation in the city is now resuming its normal channel, although tension is persisting. Labor collectives are working intensively and classes are being held in educational establishments.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has removed Comrade D.M. Muslim-Zade from his post as first secretary of Sumgait party gorkom and expelled him from the CPSU for the political unconcern displayed, the major shortcomings perpetrated in organizational and political work and the nonparty behavior resulting in the tragic consequences in Sumgait, and also for his incorrect conduct at the Central Committee Bureau and unself-critical assessment of what happened.

It has been deemed inadvisable to retain Comrade T.Ya. Mamedov, chairman of Sumgait Gorispolkom, in his post, and he has also been strictly reprimanded and had his CPSU report card endorsed for serious shortcomings in organizing work to ensure due order and discipline in the city, for the political shortsightedness displayed, and for his failure to take timely steps to forestall the negative phenomena which resulted in the tragic consequences.

Comrade M.A. Bayramova, second secretary of Sumgait party gorkom, and Comrade A.Kh. Samolazov, secretary of the party gorkom, have been given strict reprimands and had their report cards endorsed for their complacency, uncritical approach to the assessment of the situation in the city, and their failure to take effective timely steps to curb the illegal actions.

Comrade Kh.Kh. Dzhafarov, then acting chief of the city internal affairs department, has been expelled from the CPSU for his irresponsible attitude toward ensuring public order in Sumgait, which led to the disturbances and excesses with their tragic consequences.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has tasked the Sumgait party gorkom bureau with examining the personal responsibility of other Communist officials who did not ensure the implementation of measures to prevent the tragic events.

A commission headed by Comrade V.N. Konovalov, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, has been set up to examine and make a profound study of the causes and circumstances which gave rise to the disturbances in Sumgait. The results of its work will be examined at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The fact that the USSR Prosecutor's Office along with the republic Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation into the events which took place and that a number of those involved have been arrested and are facing criminal charges has been taken into consideration.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee demanded that the republic's MVD (Comrade A.I. Mamedov) take urgent steps to reinforce the personnel of the Sumgait internal affairs department and enhance militia workers' vocational training. Sumgait party and Komsomol gorkoms have been tasked with sending the best Communists and Komsomol members to fill the ranks of militia officials.

Proceeding on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee's instructions and the tasks and directives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, Sumgait party gorkom and the primary party organizations must implement specific measures to radically improve, and eliminate serious shortcomings and omissions from, working people's international education and all ideological and mass political work. Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments are required to give Sumgait party gorkom and the primary party organizations the requisite help in stepping up ideological-political work among the population, especially young people, educating working people in the revolutionary, combat, labor, and international traditions of the party and the people, and mobilizing their efforts to speed up restructuring.

Particular attention must be paid to inculcating in working people a high standard of interethnic relations and firm internationalist convictions. Processes and trends in national relations must be profoundly analyzed, the situation realistically assessed, and the specific features of the various categories and groups of the population taken into consideration. Constant concern must be shown to meet their consumer and cultural requirements, emergent problems should be resolved in good time, and any departures from the Leninist principles of national policy should be promptly noted and dealt a resolute rebuff. True democratism must be consistently asserted in practice and Soviet laws strictly observed.

The education of leading officials in the spirit of socialist internationalism and implacability toward any negative phenomena must be intensified. The party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol aktivs must persistently master the skills of active and assertive propaganda and political discussion and make leaders strictly accountable for the state of the moral and psychological mood in labor collectives.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has charged Sumgait party gorkom, primary party organizations, and economic leaders with doing their utmost to step up work to normalize the situation in the city, reinforce order, organization, and discipline, and target the labor collectives toward making good the production shortfall in the shortest possible time and ensuring unfailing fulfillment of this year's plans and socialist pledges.

Sumgait party gorkom, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and national education organs must boost the efficiency of the work being done to inculcate in young people the spirit of fraternity and friendship between the peoples, provide graphic and convincing examples of the age-old friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus, and all the peoples of our multinational motherland, mold class self-awareness in young men and women, and devote more attention to their legal education. There must be regular meetings between leading party and soviet officials, economic leaders, scientists, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia, Komsomol members and young people.

Party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been shown the need to channel all means of political and ideological influence into elucidating the Leninist national policy and its essence at the modern stage. There must be no

yielding to the provocations of irresponsible elements but a display of reason, calm, and restraint; people's unhealthy emotions and impulses must be curbed, and thoughtless actions and violations of discipline and public order must be prevented. Everything must be done to strengthen that great asset of socialism—the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples. All this work should proceed, as the CPSU Central Committee points out, from the premise that the national question demands fixed, constant attention to national specifics and mentality and consideration for the vital interests of the working people. They must seek to ensure that all Communists are consistent and sincere vectors of the ideas of the internationalism, friendship, and fraternity of the peoples and active defenders of the rights and interests of all nations.

Text of Development Decision

NC310835 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0600 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on socioeconomic development in the Azerbaijan SSR; date not given]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Councilof Ministers have adopted the following decision to further improve the socioeconomic development of Nagorno-Karabakh and to remove deficiencies:

1. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Committee, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, and the autonomous oblast's other party and soviet organs and primary party organizations should upgrade political and organization work related to mobilizing the workers to implement the decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1987 and February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the policy pursued by the party to spur socioeconomic development through reconstruction, the adoption of scientific and technical discoveries, the use of progressive experience, and the intensification of social productivity.

Inspiring the workers and the entire people with the spirit of internationalism, fraternal friendship, and mutual cooperation and categorically removing even the slightest manifestations of disrespect for the national dignity of the people and the representatives of various groups must be regarded as the main and urgent task.

Attention must be constantly focused on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's economic and social development. The USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Acadeny of Sciences must be consulted during the current year and in 1989 for drawing up a complex program for the oblast's economic and social development, including strengthening Nagorno-Karabakh's productive forces, up to the year 2005.

A complex of measures should be drawn up to increase the pace of social development in order to ensure an increase in the volume of construction of residential buildings by 1.4 times in the 13th 5-Year Plan period, for the purpose of guaranteeing a residential apartment or an individual house for each and every family by the year 2005. This complex of measures should be put into effect as of 1989.

The basic single-shift education system must be adopted by the general education schools by 1995. In view of this, 9 or 10 schools must be constructed.

The plans made for 1989 and 1990, including the plans for the 13th 5-Year Plan period, should envisage the construction of a 850-seat cultural palace in Stepanakert as well as the construction of a 400-bed hospital in the oblast, with a polyclinic capable of handling 600 patients per shift, a [word indistinct], a library, and [words indistinct] and other social objects.

2. The USSR Ministry of Communications and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting should draw up a complex of measures in 1988 to provide quality all-union telecasts to Nagorno-Karabakh and to the people who live in neighboring rayons and guarantee a full volume of Azerbaijani and Armenian telecasts to that region. These measures must be put into effect in 1988 and 1989.

3. Taking into consideration the wish of the Armenian populace in the Azerbaijan SSR, the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should consider establishing an Armenian drama theater in Baku. Meanwhile, they should draw up and implement a complex of measures for maintaining the work carried out to reconstruct and repair historical and cultural monuments in Nagorno-Karabakh. They must take into consideration the employment of Armenian workers and experts for that purpose.

4. The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and Book Trade must renovate the printing houses in Stepanakert and in the rayon centers of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast during the 13th 5-Year Plan period. It must also take into consideration the demand of the oblast's populace and increase the volume of printed literature in the Armenian language.

5. The USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation should move in 1989 to study the question of renovating Stepanakert airport in order to allow it to accomodate large passenger aircraft, including the question of installing modern radio-navigation equipment at the airport, and should submit relevant proposals during the preparation of the draft plan for the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

6. In order to improve the supply of water to the people and upgrade irrigation in Nagorno-Karabakh's irrigated farming sector, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex should complete the plan for constructing a dam which will hold 30 million cubic meters of water on the (Aberchai) River from 1988 to 1990 and guarantee its construction during the 13th 5-Year Plan period. They must also secure the commissioning of the first stage of the installations in 1993 and study the proposal for planning and constructing a dam which will hold 20 million cubic meters of water on the (Gargar) River during the 13th and 14th 5-Year Plan periods and adopt a relevant decision.

They should also see to it that R12 million are allocated to the Azer [word indistinct] Construction Administration from the main and centralized state financing establishments from 1988 to 1990 for the plans and preparatory work of the dams that will be constructed on the (Baber) and (Gardas) Rivers. The funds should also be used for information purposes and for meeting essential technical needs.

The main and centralized state financing establishments should allocate material and technical resources to the Azerkent Water Pipelines Construction Union for the completion of the enormous Nagorno-Karabakh water pipeline project in 1989 and for the maintenance of the centralized water installations that will supply water to all residential areas in the cities.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should take the measures needed to maintain a steady supply of water in Stepanakert and in the rayon centers of the autonomous oblast.

7. The USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should ensure the construction of agro-industrial units in Nagorno-Karabakh from 1988 to 1994 in order to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the people and to facilitate the production and storage of raw agricultural products.

8. The USSR Ministry of Procurement should ensure that the (?construction documents) of the mixed fodder factory planned for Apsheronskiy Rayon, which will produce 250 tons of mixed fodder per minute, are completed in 1989 and that the factory is built from 1990 to 1991.

9. To further improve transportation services to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should draw up and approve a project to improve the general roads, including those in the economic establishments, in 1989 and create the required structural sections to ensure that the construction width of the roads is increased by 1.5 or 2 times. The reconstruction of the 75-km road which links Goris and Lachin with Stepanakert should be completed from 1989 to 1990.

10. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification should ensure the soundness of the electrical equipment of production units and of cultural and livelihood services units in Nagorno-Karabakh and should provide the Azer Electricity Administration with the machinery and equipment required for building power supply units.

11. The USSR Ministry of Gas Industry should ensure that the Azer Gas Supply Union bear in mind the instruction to lay a gas pipeline to Avruz from the Fuzuli-Dzhabrail gas supply network in 1989. The ministry should also ensure that the plans for laying a pipeline to supply gas to Murdeshir, Mardakert, and (?Darbadar) are drawn up in 1989 and the project is implemented from 1990 to 1991.

When drawing up the draft plans for the Soviet Union's economic and social development in 1989 and 1990, as well as in the 13th 5-year plan period, the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex should consider laying a 550-km complex of gas pipelines in the residential areas of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and building gas distribution centers.

12. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should cooperate with the relevant USSR ministries and main administrations to draw up and realize a complex of measures aimed at increasing Nagorno-Karabakh's industrial production by 1.5 or 1.6 times and general agricultural production by 1.3 or 1.4 times by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan period. Meanwhile, machinery production should be increased by 2.6 times, and measures should also ensure a significant increase in the production of consumer goods and construction materials.

For this purpose, the Council of Ministers should keep in mind the need to allocate financial and material resources for the main (?establishments) and [words indistinct] create an effective material and technical basis for the construction, vehicle transportation, and highway organizations, and provide them with the machinery and equipment they require.

13. To ensure that the people in Nagorno-Karabakh are productively occupied and that the industrial potential is developed, the USSR Ministries of the Electro-Technical Industry [as heard], of the Electronics Industry, of the Radio Industry, of Light Industry, and of the Forestry Industry [as heard] should (?ensure that plans) are drawn up to [words indistinct] and to broaden and reconstruct their affiliated establishments and their [word indistinct] from 1988 to 1994.

The above ministries should be instructed to facilitate the effort by the local soviets of people's deputies to improve the municipal economic units in the social domain by sharing the work they carry out in that regard. The USSR Ministries of Light Industry and of Forestry Industry should help the Azerbaijan SSR Ministries of Light Industry and of Forestry and Timber Industry from 1989 to 1990 to acquire the machinery and mechanical tools they need to ensure economy in the fulfillment of their tasks.

14. In view of the increased volume of construction work, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should cooperate with the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the USSR Gosplan to draw up a concrete program for improving the material and technical basis of the construction organizations in Nagorno-Karabakh from 1989 to 1995. The program should be approved during the first 6 months of 1989.

Plans should also be made to increase the volume of construction by 1.8 or 2 times during the 13th 5-Year Plan period and priority should be given to the setting up of installations for [words indistinct] and materials for local construction.

The USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry should provide the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry with installations for stone [word indistinct] machinery, and machinery tools for the purpose of setting up a construction materials complex in Stepanakert from 1989 and 1990.

The USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply should ensure that [words indistinct] highly mechanized factory is assembled and handed over to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers from 1989 to 1993.

The USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs should ensure that the Azerbaijan State Planning Committee set up (?departments) in Stepanakert in 1989.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the relevant USSR ministries and main administrations should be allowed in exceptional cases to set up production and social units in Nagorno-Karabakh from 1988 to 1989 until the plans of such units are approved.

15. The state-centralized funds allocated for the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers in 1988 should be increased by R12.4 million, R3.9 billion of which will be for construction work, for initiating the work that will be carried out to realize the tasks referred to in this decision. The capital investment should be financed from the reserve funds of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, and the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources should provide additional material resources to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers for the needs of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988.

16. The USSR Gosplan should allocate state funds and material resources to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers from all financial resources, in addition to the allocations made for the tasks of the 5-year plan period, to facilitate the realization of the tasks mentioned in this decision from 1989 to 1990.

17. The USSR State Committee for Popular Education, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers should ensure that a complex of joint organizational, pedagogical, and methodical measures are drawn up and put into effect to organize work in schools which provide education in Armenian in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the other rayons in Azerbaijan SSR.

18. Starting from 1988, the USSR State Committee for Popular Education should cooperate with the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to draw up plans for cooperation in training experts, which will enable individuals from Nagorno-Karabakh to enroll in the higher education schools in the Armenian SSR.

19. The USSR State Committee for Popular Education and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Minsters should draw up and implement measures aimed at quickly improving the material and technical basis of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, including the supply of modern technical training facilities, the required laboratory equipment, and electronic calculators, to improve the training of highly educated experts and to meet Nagorno-Karabakh's demand for highly qualified cadres.

20. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers should be advised to consider and resolve the request put forward by the citizens who live in Nagorno-Karabakh to the effect that their administrative and organizational (?papers) should be written in Armenian.

21. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Committee, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee should channel the organizational and political work of the party, soviet, and economic organs and the trade union and Komsomol organizations toward realizing the tasks that have been mentioned in this decision. They should channel the strength of the citizens toward the realization of the economic and social tasks and use the powers given to the local deputies soviets to plan and manage the oblast's economy, improve the initiatives

and creativeness of the workers, and effectively maintain the patriotic effort of the workers to comply with the call the CPSU Central Committee has made for increasing the pace and broadening the depth of reconstruction, perfecting the methods applied in work, broadening the system of criticism and self-criticism, and maintaining a vast degree of openness in the effort to resolve matters related to the question of economic and social development.

The mass media and the propaganda organs should systematically reflect all the aspects of the region's social and economic development problems, make detailed analyses of the way the plan targets are realized, and outline the contemporary methods required for upgrading economic productivity and work output.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers feel confident that the workers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in Azerbaijan SSR will act with political maturity, demonstrate that they are aware that this office is a responsible establishment, and display (?unity) and a high degree of self-discipline. The duty of the oblast's work collectives is to strengthen the friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijani people, as well as among the other peoples of the Soviet Union, and channel all the strength of the people toward removing the backwardness that has been allowed to exist and toward successfully realizing the 1988 plans, including the plans of the entire 12th 5-Year Plan period.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium

Stepanakert Strike Described

PM311019 Moscow KOMSOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 p 2

[Report by our special correspondent S. Romanyuk: "Stepanakert: Reason Must Prevail"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—It rained in the night. A fine, penetrating, nasty rain. I was stopped several times by patrols—details have been stepped up in the city. The young policemen carefully checked my papers and asked some routine questions.

The police here are carrying out a special function: Something unforeseen might happen. The police are protecting public order. They are responsible for the safety of every family, for everyone's life. Everyone is aware of this.

Here, in Nagorno-Karabakh, many concepts have lost their usual meaning. Someone who is here on assignment and is taking the trouble to assess events can very easily get confused. Obviously, the thorough and comprehensive articles based on balanced generalizations have yet to be written.

The new working week had already started. The 4 days of the third strike in Stepanakert were past. This time, it is explained here, it was due to "unobjective coverage of events by the media." Thousands and thousands of man-days were lost and output worth millions of rubles was not produced. Allied enterprises showered Karabakh enterprises with telegrams. "Fixers" were thronging plant corridors. The bosses arrived and left empty-handed. I wanted to find out whether these people, their eyes red from lack of sleep and voices cracking with emotion, would be going to work that day and would be able to stand at their machine tools and Kuhlman drafting units. Would they be able to produce high-quality products—bake bread and produce condensers, weave silk and build houses? Would they be able to teach students and treat patients?

One Stepanakert doctor said that he was visiting patients daily because he was observing the Hippocratic oath. But he did say that in that sense doctors are an exception, an untypical example. He is in favor of not turning up at work. Bakers and confectioners, sales assistants and cooks are also in favor. But they are at work every day because the city's people need them there. The people of Stepanakert need milk and bread. Women in labor are also being taken to maternity homes.

On Sunday evening Stepanakert CPSU Gorkom First Secretary Z. Movsesyan urged citizens to go to work.

But in the morning the majority of plant shops was empty again.

We went to a footwear plant. There were people in the entrance hall. On the stairs too. It was like a bear garden in the director's office. Enterprise Komsomol organization secretary Artur Garibyan named a figure—120. The number of people who arrived at the entrance gate that day. But only as far as the entrance gate. There was an attempt to start up one assembly line. No good. Not enough people.

Around 1,500 people work at the enterprise. Including 860 Komsomol members. Where were the rest in the meantime? How could they be persuaded to start work? What were the right words? Factory director Vasiliy Abgirovich Atadzhanyan reported the situation to the minister [not further identified]:

"We are two or three steps away from disaster. We are paying enormous penalties for failing to meet pledges to other enterprises. To put it bluntly, not turning up for work is sabotage. We are saying this to people. They understand, but not all of them. We must persuade people! Communists and activists—they will all be going to the people. I think they will understand us."

In the morning 90 percent of the work force turned up at the construction materials combine. But they only turned up. Turned up only to depart ostentatiously.

Director Arkadiy Manvelovich Manucharov talked about the enterprise. In 10 years production has increased 10-fold. Labor productivity has increased 4.7 times over. Workers' average pay has risen from R140 to R340. A store has been built, along with a Pioneer camp, a sanatorium, a club, and a stadium, and subsidiary plots are meeting many of the workers' food requirements.

All that is true. But that was yesterday. Today's events could nullify all that.

Students in the city are not at their classes.

At the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute there are 1,060 young men and women. On Monday 80 people turned up for classes....

Komsomol organization secretary Ararat Daniyelyan reckons:

"Most will be at lectures tomorrow. The aktiv is working on it."

Let us hope so. The Nagorno-Karabakh Komsomol Obkom is living in hope. For some weeks now the guys have not had a day off. Plan issues, dues, and appointments have been forgotten and a multitude of instructions from superior organizations is lying around on desks.

I will dash off to another meeting when I end this report. I know they will already have read today's papers and weighed every word. The way things turn out tomorrow largely depends on how people react to this in their minds and hearts.

Stepanakert Emotions 'Subsiding'

PM311403 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Mar 88 p 3

[Special Correspondent V. Khudyakov report: The Beginning of the Week: Reportage from Stepanakert"]

[Text] Stepanakert—Your first impression is that there is complete order in the town. The stores are open, movie shows are beginning on time, and there are regular deliveries of mail. But it would be dishonest not to mention that a certain underlying tension can be felt here. The empty rows of stalls in the city market are silent and there are few children in the streets even though the vacation has begun. Accounts of the Sumgait tragedy are spread by word of mouth and are constantly embroidered with new details. Rumors are rumors.... Nevertheless, judging by my conversations with people the general attitude to Azerbaijanis is benevolent.

There is much heated discussion about the resolution on measures for the oblast's socioeconomic development. Quite a few people in Stepanakert have made their assessment of the party and government concern for their living conditions and are grateful for it. I would very much like to end at that point but unfortunately there are still some who believe that the best method is to issue ultimatums demanding a change in the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast backed up by nonappearance for work or for classes in educational establishments.

In recent days there have been meetings at virtually all industrial enterprises in the city. Judging by the accounts of those who took part, the discussion at the meetings was incisive and frank: about the money which collectives and workers themselves are losing because of the stoppages, about the losses that entails for the autonomous oblast and the whole country, and ultimately about the fact that such a course proves nothing. So it was decided: Back to work.

However on Monday morning not many people turned up.

"We only have around 70 people at work here," R. Atayan, director of the Karabakh silk combine, reported. "And some who turned up the beginning of the shift looked around and...went away again."

The combine's entire aktiv—party, trade union, and Komsomol workers—went to people's homes, exhorting them to go to work, and encouraging them.

The situation at other enterprises was no better. Thus the day's work at the footwear factory, for example, did not begin. Even though more people turned up there than at the silk combine. Unfortunately, 120 people cannot operate a production line designed for a considerably larger number of workers. The factory stands idle while 121 customers throughout the Soviet Union are waiting for its output—shoes, slippers, and children's footwear.

There, too, aktiv members went to the hostels and people's homes. What is more, they found people who needed no encouragement.

"We want to work," E. Turbendiyev, a cutter, said heatedly. "We approve the measures for the oblast's socioeconomic development. But first of all we ourselves have to go to work."

"I work in the finished output depot," said V. Bagdasaryan. "I have a large family—a son, a daughter in law, and five grandsons. My son also works at the factory. We came here together. Armenian, Azerbaijani—what's the difference?! It's all a question of conscience. We know that the party and government are thinking of Karabakh and want to help us. It is disgraceful to be doing nothing."

It would be good if everyone thought as Vartuz Grigoryevna does. But many people are clearly still hesitant. Some still do not believe that Moscow is receiving truthful information about the situation here.

But gradually emotions are subsiding here, albeit slowly at the moment.

...Before filing this report to the editorial office I called the silk combine.

"The situation is slowly getting better," the director said. "More people have already come for the second shift.... We think that normal work should be restored soon."

Stepanakert Returning to Normal

PM301623 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent M. Mikhalkov and Yu. Shabanov dispatch: "Stepanakert at the End of March"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—It was the morning of 29 March. Would it turn out to be a workday? We went to the same enterprises we visited yesterday. Enterprise leaders were engaged in an animated conversation at the gates of the silk combine. Their appearance was not as gloomy now, but they still looked worried. People had turned up for work, but by no means everybody.

We went to the silk reeling shop. Assistant Foreman Karina Petrosyan pointed to the women standing in a row, deftly dipping the cocoons in vats of water and drawing out the soaked threads:

"Here we have both Azerbaijani and Armenian women. Altogether, just under one-half of the shop workers have come in—50 of them. This is the 1st day back at work for me, too. I intended to come yesterday, but saw that nobody was here, so I did not come either."

Karina cautiously looked at our notebooks and added:

"You must definitely write down the word 'reunification.' Have you got that? Let me see...."

Reeler Lena Zakharyan joined in the conversation. She is a Communist. She felt that it is not right for people not to go to work: They must work and must act using legitimate methods.

We saw a young child in the neighboring shop. The mother told us that the kindergarten would not take him. She is not the only one to have stayed at home for this reason. Representatives of local authority organs explained that kindergartens are now operational.

There were about 100 people, workers and specialists, at the electrical equipment plant at 0800 hours in the morning.

"Another party meeting was held yesterday. Communists again voted to return to work," Plant Director B. Arushnyan told us. "But the initial results are still small. Nevertheless, we've started work even with these small numbers, an example must be given to others..."

The situation is similar at some other enterprises. Quietly, in groups or by themselves, somewhat late for the shift start, people are making their way to the gates of factories and plants or taking their seats at office desks, and students are filling the lecture halls. There were fewer than 100 students at the Teacher Training Institute yesterday, but today's figure is over 500.

Yes, life is gradually returning to normal in the city. Party workers are in constant contact with the population and labor collectives, trying to get a dialogue going and to persuade them. True, they are not always successful in this. On the whole, there is still a sense of tension. Who is obstructing the normalization of the situation by spreading provocative rumors?

A young woman called Tanya (she refused to give her surname) is staying in our hotel; she has come here from the city of Orsk to visit her son. Various well-wishers frightened her while she was on her way here: There is no transport to that place, and it's unsafe there.

"But I got here," Tanya said, "and I see that the situation is really calm."

So why erect artificial barriers around Stepanakert, why surround it with a circle of mistrust and tension? After this conversation, we made our way to the Kassirshi bus terminus, [where people were] drinking tea and resting.

"Buses are not traveling beyond the city limits," they briefly explained.

Yesterday we were shown a typewritten leaflet pulled out of a mailbox. It contained an insistent call to maintain pressure and hold on to the old positions. As a matter of fact, the leaflet was signed with the word "Krunk." We were told that it was a forgery, since—as everyone knows—"Krunk" was disbanded by decree of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. And "Krunk" members themselves voted at their meeting to obey this decision and end their official activity.

"Nevertheless," Azerbaijan SSR People's Artist Zhanna Galukyan said at the meeting, "it is necessary to persuade people to go back to work and try to normalize the situation in the city, putting any insults aside. This is our moral and civic duty."

Airikyan Charged

AU310735 Paris AFP in English 0712 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 31 (AFP)—A group of demonstrators, who Monday defied a ban on demonstrations in the Armenian capital to call for the release of detained Armenian nationalist Paruir Airikyan, have been punished under civil law, the Armenian newspaper KOMMUNIST has said. It was the first official confirmation that Mr. Airikyan, 38, who heads the Union for National Self-Determination, had been arrested and charged. Moscow dissident Lev Timofeyev had told Western reporters that Mr. Airikyan had been arrested overnight Thursday, along with three other Armenian nationalists. KOMMUNIST, in Tuesday's edition reaching here Thursday, said that Mr. Airikyan, who had been in contact with Western reporters in Moscow, had been charged with "spreading false news slandering the Soviet social and state regime". The charge carries a three-year labour camp term.

The paper also confirmed a report from Moscow dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov that Armenians had demonstrated in Yerevan on Monday. According to Mr. Ogorodnikov, 500 people had demonstrated outside the Council of Ministers' building in Yerevan, and another 100 outside the State Prosecutor's Office where the Airikyan case was being discussed. KOMMUNIST said that a group of people, "mainly relatives" of Mr. Airikyan, tried to organise a rally calling for his release in Yerevan. It said that "administrative bodies" had taken "measures provided for by law" against the demonstrators. This could mean a fine or up to 15 days in prison.

Meanwhile, the Azerbaijani newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY published regulations passed by the southern republic's Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the top local state authority, which officially banned demonstrations and introduced sanctions for offenders. Similar regulations have been introduced in other Soviet republics. The Azerbaijani notice, published in last Friday's newspaper reaching here Thursday, notably said that people involved in demonstrations or meetings which "hindered the normal work of enterprises" faced up to two years' in labour camp.

The main town in the Armenian-dominated autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which comes under Azerbaijani jurisdiction, has been paralysed by strike action for the last week.

Mass protests and unrest last month in Nagorno-Karabakh sparked demostrations by hundreds of thousands of Armenians in Yerevan and an Azerbaijani-led massacre of Armenians in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait on February 28 which left 26 Armenins and six Azerbaijanis dead, and 197 injured.

The Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh and in neighbouring Armenia are campaigning for the return of the region to Armenia, but Soviet central authorities have rejected the demand, and have agreed only to boost the region's social and economic development. Nagorno-Karabakh has been part of Azerbaijan since 1923.

The weekly newspaper SOBESEDNIK (interlocutor) meanwhile reported Thursday that the trial of those responsible for the Sumgait killings would be open to the public. Investigators have said they expected preliminary results of the criminal inquiry, conducted by top-level team from different Soviet republics, to be available in the first half of next month.

SOBESEDNIK said that an anonymous telephone line "Trust" had been set up in Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, and other Azerbaijani cities, to answer questions from the public. One caller was reassured that an Armenian church had not been burned down while another was told that "patrols and police auxiliaries" were in Sumgait to protect people from "those who might want to cause disorder". A curfew was lifted in Sumgait only one month after the February 28 riots.

In contrast with the local press, the Soviet national daily press Thursday ran no reports on latest developments in the two southern republics. The Soviet press had in the last week, after a month-long silence, published many details on the continuing unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh and the situation in Yerevan.

Stepanakert Plants Still on Strike

AU311104 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Anne Penketh Report]

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 31 (AFP)—Stepanakert, the main town in the Azerbaijan region of Nagorno-Karabakh, was still strike-bound in a nationalist protest by Armenians Thursday, and police sealed off the central square to prevent demonstrations, an official at the local Communist Party newspaper said. The official at SOVETSKIY KARABAKH said all the town's factories were on strike except for those providing essential services. Shops were also open.

Stepanakert, a town of 35,000 people in Armenian-dominated Nagorno-Karabakh, has been paralysed by strikes for a week, to protest the rejection by Soviet central authorities of demands to transfer the region to the republic of Armenia.

The official said local people were "afraid to demonstrate" because they knew street protests would be "put down" by patrolling police, acting under regulations published Friday punishing demonstrations with two years in a labour camp. [passage omitted]

Historian Roy Medvedev Views Armenia Crisis

PM301356 Brussels LE SOIR in French
28 Mar 88 p 4

[Interview with dissident Soviet Historian Roy Medvedev by Nina Bachkatov in Moscow on 25 March—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow, 26 March—Roy Medvedev, who has long been regarded as an "acceptable dissident" in the regime's eyes, is now highly respected in Moscow. And he is now an expert who is particularly closely heeded. What does he think about the Armenian affair? As a historian, nobody is in a better position than he is to place the current disturbances in his multinational country in their context, while his position as a man "on the fringes of the government" enabled him to closely follow the recent developments in Nagorno-Karabakh, and to this end he met with members of the "Karabakh" Committee, which is due to be dissolved. This was an opportunity to review the situation with him, on the eve of a crucial day, feared by everybody.

[Bachkatov] What will happen tomorrow?

[Medvedev] Nobody can say, and, like many other people, I am worried. During the 19 March meeting, two factions emerged in the "Karabakh" Committee. There was a unanimous vote in favor of a general strike, but a big majority thinks that the agreements reached with the population when the meetings were broken up must be respected, and that the meetings should be resumed. How can we know which faction will win? Nobody in the committee wants confrontation, but nor can they guarantee that they will not lose control of the situation.

[Bachkatov] You have an account of that meeting. What were the broad outlines of it?

[Medvedev] In addition to the decisions on 26 March, the committee expressed its regret at the attitude adopted by the Armenian and national press, which are either concealing the truth or distorting it. They also regretted the fact that neither the local authorities nor the Soviet authorities expressed condolences after the Sumgait riots, that they played down the number of casualties, which is between 300 and 350, and that they are emphasizing the fact that more than one nationality suffered casualties. However, the pogrom was anti-Armenian at first, and was organized as such, even if other people died, including Azerbaijanis who were trying to protect Armenians.

[Bachkatov] Surely the situation has changed since 19 March?

[Medvedev] The situation has changed enormously and has become more complex. For the past 2 days, every effort has been made to discourage demonstrations whereas the committee has always maintained a calm situation: Armenia is controlled by police backed by non-Armenian elements, and helicopters and troops have arrived. In Moscow yesterday, the Supreme Soviet made a timid decision, which merely announced an improvement in social and economic conditions in Nagorno-Karabakh. Regarding the root of the problem, it demonstrated that it misunderstands the constitution by stating that the peoples concerned must give their agreement if a territory is to be changed. However, there are many examples from the past of the Supreme Soviet deciding such a matter alone. For instance, when the Crimea was separated from Russia and attached to the Ukraine.

[Bachkatov] What really lies behind the Armenian demands?

[Medvedev] First, there is the historical context which everybody misjudges. In particular, in an article entitled "Greetings to Soviet Armenia," Stalin hailed the voluntary restoration of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia by Azerbaijan and, 3 years later, nobody yet knows why, the territory was handed back to Azerbaijan. Then, in the autonomous republic, grievances built up, such as a ban on hog raising extended to Christian Armenians, the refusal to show Armenian television programs, and the sumptuous celebration of weddings on the day when the Armenians were commemorating the Turkish genocide. Finally, there were real injustices, like a change in the school curricula last September, excluding the teaching of Armenian history or the story of the pollution by a chemical plant (rejected by the inhabitants of Kazan, and offered to Azerbaijan, which chose Stepanakert as the site).

[Bachkatov] Why this long silence by Gorbachev?

[Medvedev] At first, he was wise not to become personally involved and not to involve the party too closely, and to leave Gromyko to do his job. But we now need a clear statement from him. After Chernobyl, he remained silent for 3 weeks, and that was a mistake. However, he must express his views clearly, recognize the violence against the Armenians, and not take sides but stress the faults of the two governments. He must explain that such important decisions cannot be taken hurriedly, under emotional pressure, and that he must be given time. In the short term a gesture would suffice, like reversing unjust decisions. The school curriculum is an example.

[Bachkatov] Is that not likely to create a precedent and spark off other demands?

[Medvedev] The most dangerous thing would be to make no decisions. At all events, Gorbachev knows that there will be other demands, that every national problem is different and must be solved separately. The urgent need at present is in Nagorno-Karabakh because, in addition to the people killed in Sumgait, basic anti-Azerbaijani racism is developing in Armenia, the republic is being run by two powers—a discredited local party, which is

making no decisions, and a Karabakh Committee organized in local sections which, despite its sincerity, may fail to control extremists. In Baku, the leadership is opposing a territorial change with particular energy because this decision would amount to admitting their management mistakes and to making their departure indispensible.

[Bachkatov] How much room to maneuver does Gorbachev have?

[Medvedev] He still has the government on his side, even if the disturbances offer perfect arguments for those who believe that democracy leads to chaos. Above all, he is being forced to make a decision which he hoped to plan calmly, after the party conference and a plenum which is merely rumored to be scheduled for 28 March. Above all, he can no longer delay the replacement of the Baku and Yerevan leaderships. But, because of the cadre policy pursued in each of these capitals, there is no available local leader. And, in such homogeneous republics, it is impossible to bring in somebody from outside. It will be very difficult for him to find men who are respected by the local population and worthy of Moscow's confidence. He needed time and a calm atmosphere for that too.

Background to Sumgait Disorders Examined

PM291031 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 p 2-3

[Special correspondents O. Kulish and D. Melikov report: "Black Seeds Shall Not Grow. Our Special Correspondents Discuss Events In and Around Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—It is now obvious that the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh play into the hands of those who would like to eradicate the traditions of brotherhood between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and cast a pall over restructuring. The events played out in Stepanakert—the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast—have assumed an unhealthy nature. National features are eulogized and elevated to absolutes for clearly speculative purposes, and anything that could be useful in the "struggle for Karabakh" is dredged up out of the mists of time. While the genuine interests of the oblast as a whole go by the board.

Many serious socioeconomic problems and unsolved questions of culture and education have indeed built up in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The acuteness of these problems has been affected by mistakes committed by the republic's central organs in leading the oblast. Today these mistakes are being rectified. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo envisages an extensive range of measures to further develop the oblast.

It was undoubtedly right to put these issues on the agenda. It is obvious that their resolution is only possible given a businesslike, constructive, and interested approach. However, these realities of life were not taken into account when the session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies held 20 February petitioned for the NKAO to be transferred to Armenia. This decision was accompanied by heavily attended rallies, the leaders of which—it must be owned—skillfully exploited topical slogans about glasnost and democratization, which are so ardently supported by people. Behind a carefully erected facade things were done that had nothing to do with restructuring. Essentially all normal life in the oblast was paralyzed—enterprises stood idle and educational establishments were deserted. Hundreds of tonnes of freight lay around at Stepanakert Station. Meanwhile things were buzzing on the square in front of the party obkom—emotions were being whipped up, passions were being inflamed, and rumors put about that the question of the oblast's transfer was "on the point of being resolved."

No, everything that happened was no accidental disruption. The more time that passes, the more obvious are the forces channeling events in the direction they need. The forgetting of the principles of internationalism inevitably led them to the nationalist positions seen quite clearly at the 19 March "Committee for Karabakh" rally in Yerevan.

But even then, during the February events in Stepanakert, the actions of the "fighters for Karabakh" were not particularly scrupulous. At a worrying juncture, for instance, the newspaper SOVETAKAN KARABAKH—the organ of the party obkom—refused to publish an article about internationalism and friendship between the two fraternal peoples.

"How could this be? Where did those who sowed enmity where there had always been friendship and mutual understanding come from?" We often hear these questions. What is happening in and around Nagorno-Karabakh arouses in most people an entirely understandable sense of alarm, bitterness, and at the same time righteous anger. Anger against those who are whipping up nationalist sentiments and hampering restructuring. We have had many meetings and conversations with various people over the last few days, some of which we will discuss.

"Stop, People!" [subhead]

In Agdamskiy Rayon, which borders the NKAO, people's voluntary militia workers arrested a suspicious individual one night. He was considered suspicious because he was clearly not a local and refused to give his name. Then it transpired that he was an Azerbaijani and a native of Karabakh who had long been living in Khabarovsk. He explained his appearance in the region after 10 years away by saying he was concerned about the events in Stepanakert.

He was not the only one worried. People started to arrive in Agdamskiy Rayon, which borders Nagorno-Karabakh, from Baku, Kirovabad, Lenkoran.... They assembled in groups in Agdam's squares, streets, and parks, and held impromptu rallies. Tension increased. The situation got even worse when Azerbaijanis from the NKAO appeared in the region. They raised the temperature of the already heated discussions with rumors about repression in Nagorno-Karabakh. The shortcomings in internationalist education had an effect and made themselves felt in this situation. Provocative slogans from extremist individuals calling for the "defense of our native land" and for Karabakh to be "defended with force" rode a wave of emotion and gained strength.

A real struggle started between healthy forces and those trying to sow discord and dissension. A decisive role in this struggle, of course, fell to party committees and Communists. But, it must be admitted, they acted in different ways. In Sumgait, for instance, they not only let the situation get out of hand, but virtually allowed hooligans and extremists to seize the initiative.

But the situation had gotten worse in Agdam even earlier—on 21 February. Thousands of people gathered in the square in front of the party raykom demanding explanations about how the question of Nagorno-Karabakh was being resolved and why the press and television were silent about it.

"The people's questions should have been answered," S. Murtuzayev, raykom first secretary, said. Those assembled in the square were addressed by the republic minister of internal affairs, our respected elders, heroes of labor, deputies, the Hero-Mother Makhizar Mamedova, and the actress Knarik Pogosyan. Around 30 people spoke that day about the friendship between our peoples and called for prudence. These heartfelt words struck a chord. It seemed that the tension was starting to diminish. Then suddenly next morning we learned that a group of young people, influenced by nationalist elements, were heading for the NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon carrying rocks and sticks. Two young inhabitants of Agdam had been killed in a skirmish and several others had been injured. News of the tragedy immediately flashed around the neighboring regions. Tens of thousands of enraged inhabitants set off in the direction of Askeran....

This was a testing time for party and soviet workers. It was when people's character, strength of will, and conviction came into their own. In one area G. Gasanov, secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, managed to stop the crowd. The elderly gentleman ran several kilometers to catch the Agdam people. When he caught them up he was surprised to find that he was neither tired nor out of breath, and his voice was steady when he said: "Brothers..."

The actions of Hero of Socialist Labor Khuraman Abbasova, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz, are also remembered by everyone. She threw her scarf on the ground in front of a crowd of thousands, crying: "If you want to break the traditions of our mothers and fathers, you can trample their honor underfoot and step over it." Nobody dared break this Azerbaijani custom. And the silence with which people stood in front of this elderly woman was quite simply a sign that the events had been curtailed.

Foreseeing possible complications, dozens of party workers and other prestigious people traveled to Agdam from Baku. These included the poets Famil Mekhti and Bakhtiyar Bagab-Zade; the Academicians Mitat Abbasov, Dzhamil Guliyev, and Khudu Mamedov; the scientists Suleyman Aliyarov and Kyamal Abdullayev; Aziza Dzhafar-Zade, chairman of the republic's Women's Council.... The calm and weighty words of these well-known people in the republic played their part.

...We saw S. Murtuzayev more than once in our travels around the region. Here in labor collectives the work done by the party raykom was particularly noticeable. The activity of enterprises and organizations was not interrupted for a single minute, nor were lessons in schools and other educational establishments stopped.

And yet, the raykom believes, the main work lies ahead. Namely, work with people—and, above all, young people, who were the first to be inflamed by the provocations.

"Only the idle do not swear by internationalism these days..." It was as if this rebuke of Lenin's was addressed to us. We also saw a great deal of monumental and graphic agitation work in Azerbaijan on the subject of the brotherhood of the peoples. On entering Sumgait there is a majestic billboard proclaiming to everyone that they are entering a city that is nothing short of the living embodiment of Lenin's ideas. Yet just 10 minutes from the proud slogan (you cannot travel any faster over the broken asphalt) there are depressingly squalid shanty town areas—temporary housing improvised from scraps of sheet metal, wooden panels, and rusty wire netting. People, including young people in the international city, live here for several years. The city contains 55 hostels which cannot be viewed with indifference: Everywhere is disorganized, filthy, and in a mess. Sumgait is also "distinguished" by its atrocious ecological situation, the neglected condition of its social and consumer sphere, and the disregard of the organization of its young inhabitants' leisure. It is not surprising that the tragic disruption happened here, against such a profoundly unfavorable backdrop of unresolved problems. Against a background of copious words about internationalism and a clear shortage of real, party attention to people's needs, feelings, and interests.

In Agdam we saw how people were veritably rushed off their feet trying to overcome the shortcomings in work with young people. The party raykom instructed Komsomol and youth collectives to elect leaders themselves—prestigious people who would have the respect

of their peers. The commissars—this was the name given to the informal leaders—have been made responsible for normalizing the situation. There are currently 23,000 young men and women working under their leadership—that is a real force capable of influencing the atmosphere in the region. Many of these kids had quite recently participated in heated rallies and meetings.

Today they themselves are putting a stop to rumors—at meetings, in labor collectives, and even on public transport. This is one of the Komsomol detachments' tasks in maintaining order and discipline. There are other tasks too. A. Dzhafarov, commissar of a detachment at the Agricultural Mechanization and Electrification Technical College, showed us an invitation sent to young people at the Stepanakert Sovkhoz Technical College. They are expected in Agdam, where a 3-day program has been drawn up.

Such meetings between different people and at different levels are very necessary today.

Before our trip to Agdam we talked in Baku with U. Alekperov, vice president of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences.

"Do you know what is happening at the moment?" the scientist asked bitterly. "We are reaping the fruits of mistakes in educating people. In science there is a precise timescale for the formation of a generation—20 years. So it turns out that an entire generation has grown up to the tune of bravura marches celebrating the multinational nature of our state. In actual fact this has turned into real stagnation in internationalist education and the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. Not for nothing was it directly stated at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum that the nationalities policy must be dealt with very thoroughly—both in theory and in practice."

The realities of life have gotten out of step with slogans about internationalism that are not backed up by specific everyday work. This breakdown has become a shelter for feelings of national egoism and exclusivity. We must wash our life clean of these accretions. But, again, not with the help of complacently reassuring figures or songs about friendship. We need comprehensive joint efforts, from the intelligentsia of Azerbaijan and Armenia among others. But hitherto contacts have not been established and relations have been weighed down by prejudice and bias...

What is surprising is that the barriers of misunderstanding turned up in places where, it seemed, emotions should have been governed above all by reason and responsibility. Certain Azerbaijani scientists, with whom we met recently, ascribe this lack of responsibility to their Armenian colleagues. The latter, naturally, do not agree. As a result, the heat of discussion turns into an empty polemic, and who will throw down the scarf of peace like Khuraman Abbasova?

Seven Hours in the Life of Ismail Aliyev [subhead]

We arrived at the Sumgait Aluminum Plant a few days after the events in Sumgait. Near the entrance to the plant we saw workers with red armbands—voluntary militia. Now there were just a few people, but then—on 28 February—there were 300 people who came to defend the plant. Let us say straightaway that this protection was not needed. But measures had been taken in good time, and not just at the plant itself, but in the hostels where the workers' families live.

"On Saturday February 27," plant Director R. Eminbeyli said, "I went with voluntary militia workers to the square in front of the party gorkom, where an impromptu rally was under way. I immediately sensed the tension in the air. As subsequent events showed, the provocateurs started acting right then, under the cover of the rally. Here and there inflammatory cries were heard about the oppression of Azerbaijanis in Armenia. I do not think I was the only one to feel that events were developing in a clearly abnormal fashion. But the true scale of the trouble exceeded all my fears. Reports started arriving at the plant that in the urban rayons of Sumgait groups of extremists were staging pogroms in the homes of Armenian citizens and carrying out reprisals and violence. We were faced with the task of guaranteeing the security of our workers' families...."

We will break off from the director's story here to ask a quite reasonable question: Why was it necessary to save people? Why was the main thing—stopping the hooligans themselves in good time—not done? Many Sumgait people believe that this happened because the city militia turned out to be incapable of vigorous action and the city authorities acted without due urgency or vigilance. Under these conditions the inhabitants of Sumgait and labor collectives acted virtually independently, at their own risk. And it is hard to say how great the tragedy would have been, had not troops been brought into the city.

This fact itself attests to a great deal. But nonetheless we note that there were hundreds and thousands of times more people behaving themselves, refusing to yield to provocation, and opposing provocations than there were those who overstepped the mark of the criminal and purely human law. Many people showed real courage. Azerbaijani families hid Armenians in their apartments, saving them from the attackers. But, unfortunately, people were unable to form a united front to stop the frenzied hooligans. First and foremost because the city organs lost control of the situation.

An assessment has been made of the inactivity of the city authorities—many leaders in Sumgait have been removed from their jobs and have received party reprimands. The first secretary of the party gorkom has been relieved of his position and expelled from the CPSU. The acting chief of the city internal affairs department has also been expelled from the party, and the chairman

of the gorispolkom has been relieved of his position. All this is right, except for one thing—the assessment came too late. It is still late, in our opinion, today—after all, there are still people in Azerbaijan and Armenia who in their actions are more inclined to be guided by interests of national egoism rather than by a party-based, principled approach and the duty of a Communist, which, as Lenin put it, lies above all in "thinking not just about one's own ethnic group, but placing the interests of everyone above it..."

...During the most complicated period during those difficult days for the city several Communists met in the office of the director of the aluminum plant. It was planned to urgently take the families of the plant workers to a place of safety. The only such place, it was unanimously decided, was the plant. But how would people be taken out, and who would do it? Several people to whom the director had talked beforehand refused to take part—the risk was too great. On the streets where the Armenian families lived hooligans were running riot, throwing rocks at cars, overturning them, even setting them alight....

"I'll go," Ismail Aliyev, chief of plant security, volunteered. When he got into the plant's Moskvich he heard: "Where are you going, you'll be killed for sure." Ismail made no reply, slammed the door shut, checked that the windows were shut, and turned on the ignition. Automatically he looked at his watch: It was 1720. He had left the director's office 5 minutes ago. That had been enough time for him to collect himself—he had taken his pistol, stuffed his pockets with six spare magazines, and checked how to get to the first address: old Kostya's family. This was the plan. While Ismail was on his way, and it would take him 10-15 minutes, the director would phone old Kostya's neighbor—Ziyad Agayev, team leader at the electrolysis shop. He would take the family out to the car. "Act cautiously but quickly," was the director's parting message to the team leader.

That was what happened. Ziyad waited for Ismail's car by the entrance. But the whole family could not get into a small Moskvich. The sons sent the old people and stayed behind. They did not know whether Ismail would come back for them. Out of the windows of the apartment they could see how several hooligans ran up to the Moskvich which their parents had just entered, and how Ismail screeched away.

He did come back. True, not in the Moskvich. Realizing that the car could be recognized, Ismail, having taken the people to the plant, switched to the "first-aid jeep." This time his pistol was in the pocket of a white coat. Ismail drove through the entire city with his left hand on the wheel and his right hand on his gun. He saw the same rabble at the entrance. Five or six of them approached the vehicle and one who was older than the rest and stinking of drink asked: "Who've you come for?" "Sick people, are you blind?" Ismail retorted sharply. Perhaps it was his resolve that made the hooligans back off, although they kept glancing in the direction of the "ambulance."

...Ismail Aliyev took 36 workers and their wives and children to the enterprise. They speak of it in more definite terms: He saved us. At first alone, and then together with Elbrus Kuliyev, a young driver at the plant. They were also helped by old Kostya's son Vladimir, an engineer at a neighboring enterprise. They traveled across the city, trying to avoid groups of hooligans, and changing their routes and vehicles.

The last trip was to get Arkadiy, another of old Kostya's sons. When the vehicle carrying the family—Arkadiy's wife and four kids—reached plant territory Ismail looked at his watch for the first time during the entire operation: It was 0200. Only then did he feel the fatigue and nervous tension that had not left him for the whole 7 hours of the continual trips. "I've never done anything like it before," he told us. We asked Aliyev to talk about himself, we wanted to know more about this man. But Ismail was a man of few words: He told us he was 40 and had been in Sumgait since 1980. He had worked in internal affairs organs since leaving the Army. The security chief also has a diploma in journalism from Azerbaijan State University. But howsoever we tried to ask our colleague to discuss that night in greater detail, he refused: "I don't want to remember."

"Indeed," Vladimir said, coming to his aid, "it's sickening to remember what could be seen on the streets. One remembers the hooligans' faces—malicious and with eyes glazed either from drugs or alcohol. They were carrying rocks and iron bars which they used to smash windows. The whistling and shouting was deafening.... I couldn't recognize my own town."

Vladimir recalled something else—the flash photographs which in the darkness of the night would suddenly light up pictures, one more sickening than the next, as if the attacks had been specially organized just for this. Who needed these "photodocuments," for whom were they intended, where will they end up, or where have they already ended up? It is hard to say, but the fact is that one of the radio stations broadcasting to our country from abroad has reported that it has in its possession a videotape showing, as it puts it, the "bloody events in Sumgait." People in the city have confirmed that someone in the crowd was indeed seen with a videocamera.

Many of those with whom we talked told us directly about a whole chain of clearly provocative actions aimed at embittering people and sowing panic and distrust. What price, for instance, the hysterical shouting of the man who told the crowd in the Sumgait square the terrible story of his family, allegedly killed by "Armenian murderers." When competent organs looked into the case of the "victim" it turned out that he was by no

means a peaceful inhabitant of Kafan—as he had made himself out to be—but a convicted recidivist and now a parasite of no fixed abode and...with no family at all.

"Those are the people Ismail saved us from," old Kostya told us.

When he entered the director's office, where we were talking with the participants in that memorable night-time operation, everyone stood up to welcome the elder. Konstantin Aykazovich Martirosyan is a respected person at the plant, and not just because of his age—he is 68. He has devoted more than 30 years to his beloved enterprise, and not just anywhere, but in the most difficult section—the casting shop. The day we met with the veteran and realized why everyone at the plant simply calls him "old Kostya," the situation in the city, All-Union Radio and Television reported, was getting back to normal. Indeed, enterprises, stores, schools, and canteens were back to work again in Sumgait. Newspapers were being sold in the kiosks, children were playing outside, and young people were crowding around the movie theater box office. But, let us be frank, there was something else too. At the aluminum plant, for instance, people had been working a 12-hour shift, standing in for their comrades who had been unable to make it in to work. No, none of the workers at the plant or their family members had suffered. The danger had made them take precautionary measures and, above all, reduce the time they spent traveling across town. There were also people who were still too scared to leave home even then. Well, it is possible to understand these people. And they were understood at the enterprise, where people showed their concern and attention by stepping into their shoes.

The director held out sheets of paper with a list of names:

"This is a list of our Armenian workers. Quite honestly, this is the first time I've needed to make one in all the time I've been working. But this has all the information—family makeup, addresses, location at a given time, problems needing to be solved, requests.... We will do everything for them."

The promise made by Rasim Farkhadovich Eminbeyli is becoming particularly important today. The person who said these words has been elected, we recently learned, as chairman of the Sumgait Gorispolkom.

It is also important that in this extreme situation many labor collectives act in the same way as Ismail Aliyev and his comrades at the aluminum plant. In the 29th district of the city, for instance, apartment dwellers—mainly workers—went out onto the streets and blocked the hooligans' way. People boldly met them at apartment entrances and did not let them in. And, incidentally, there was not a single case where these countermeasures did not work.

...When Konstantin Martirosyan talked about Ismail Aliyev and about how his Azerbaijani friend had saved his family, his eyes brimmed with tears. It was not a boy crying, but someone who had lived a life that had seen everything, including war. That day Martirosyan had come to the plant without any escort to pay his party dues on time.

"Why am I crying? It's terrible that such a thing happened," old Kostya said slowly, as if reliving everything. "I can't understand—how could it happen?!"

Some 32 people of different ethnic groups died in Sumgait during this period. This is a tragic lesson for us and a terrible score for those who, with criminal lack of thought, attacked life and the friendship of the peoples.

Ligachev Visits Vologda Oblast 27-30 Mar

PM311008 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS headline: "Strengthening Restructuring With Concrete Action"]

[Text] Comrade Ligachev visited Vologda Oblast 27-30 March. He visited the towns of Vologda, Cherepovets, Velikiy Ustyug, the Cherepovets Metallurgical combine, a sovkhoz, an experimental and training dairy plant, the Krasavino linen combine, and the Snezhinka lace-making association. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inspected architectural, cultural, and historical monuments and visited the Mariya Ilyinichna Ulyanova museum.

Numerous meetings were held with townsfolk, workers, specialists, and enterprise managers, and with activist members of the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. There was a broad exchange of opinions on issues relating to implementing the policy of restructuring and the directives of the CPSU Central Committee February 1988 Plenum, to worthily greeting the 19th all-union party conference and to mastering economic methods of management, financial autonomy and self-financing. There was discussion of the state of affairs regarding technical reequipment of production, developing self-management, and enhancing the role of councils of labor collectives.

Particular attention was focused upon increasing production of food produce in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the subsidiary farms of the population, industrial enterprises, and construction organizations. Emphasis was placed upon the urgent need to speed up the rate at which such important social problems as construction of housing, schools, children's pre-school institutions, polyclinics, hospitals, and cultural facilities are resolved in the oblast. There was discussion of making a serious improvement in medical, trading, amenity, and cultural services for the rural population in particular. A thorough examination was made of the ways to expand

traditional folk crafts and trades and to preserve the numerous historical architectural and cultural monuments of the Russian North.

Comrade Ligachev spoke at a meeting of the oblast's party activists. Ye.K. Ligachev was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by V.A. Kuptsov, first secretary of Vologda CPSU Obkom, and A.G. Kornilov, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Commission Discusses Rural Youth Problems

PM291159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Concern and Attention for Rural Youth. At USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers' Standing Commissions"]

[Text] Concern for increasing young people's role in renewing all spheres of the life of society is a very important state and public matter. This was noted in the Kremlin 26 March at a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Youth Affairs Commissions. They discussed Kalinin Oblast soviets' work on keeping young people in the countryside.

It was stressed at the session that restructuring is extremely slow in oblast soviet and economic bodies' work in developing the agro-industrial complex and its production and social infrastructure, creating stable labor collectives on that basis, and keeping young people in the countryside.

Labor resources are still under strain in rural areas. The population there is continuing to fall and is aging. There is an acute shortage of worker cadres in the mass trades and specialists, particularly machine operators and mechanized milking operatives. Only 7 percent of farms have their full complement of worker cadres. Because of the lack of year-round employment young women are leaving the countryside, thus aggravating the demographic situation. More than 14,000 homes in the countryside are now completely empty.

This is due to the fact that many economic and social problems connected with the reorganization of the countryside are being tackled too slowly. There has been a failure to adopt a comprehensive approach. The allocated material resources have been used to little effect. Capital investments for the development of agriculture are not being used.

The level of labor mechanization is low, particularly in livestock raising. A poor job is being made of introducing advanced forms of labor, such as family and leasing contracts. There are serious shortcomings in the social reorganization of the countryside. Not enough housing and municipal facilities are being built and highway construction is slow to develop. Trade, consumer, and transport services are badly organized. Even a considerable number of farm centers lack schools and preschool establishments. Half of the people live in population centers that lack medical treatment facilities and clinics.

The work of cultural enlightenment institutions is poor and often falls short of the present-day requirements of young men and women. Many clubs have closed because they were in a bad state or because of a lack of cadres. Work on vocational guidance and labor education of schoolchildren and with people about to be drafted is having practically no effect on young people's choice of professions connected with agricultural production.

There have been serious shortcomings in cadre policy. The turnover of farm leaders is extremely high. There is reluctance to put capable young people in leading posts. In rural areas there is a shortage of teachers and health, culture, sports, trade, and consumer services workers.

All this creates a lag in the development of agricultural production, and the production volume in the oblast continues to fall. At the same time, 540,000 hectares of agricultural land are forest and scrub.

In their decision the commissions recommended that the Kalinin Oblispolkom implement concrete measures to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the countryside and ensure the comprehensive approach in the fulfillment of the multifaceted tasks of involving young people in labor activity in the countryside.

Corresponding recommendations were made to other ministries and departments.

The commissions also decided to present a number of proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers on tackling the problems connected with keeping young people in the countryside.

The session was attended by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.N. Tolkunov and A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and leaders of a number of ministries and departments.

RSFSR President on Labor Redistribution

LD280132 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Text] The mass-scale redistribution of labor resources, a problem rooted in Soviet economic restructuring, is getting action in the Russian Federation. The president of the largest Soviet republic, Vladimir Orlov, has said this in an interview with newsmen. He said the transition of industries and other branches of the national economy to cost accounting and self-financing and the curtailment of managerial staffs necessitated the removal of hundreds of thousands of jobs, but nobody, he added, has

been left without a job. Fifty-six percent of these people have already received employment at their own enterprises, now doing new (?shifts). Twenty-six percent moved to some other sectors of the national economy. The rest retired on pension.

Tula Obkom Chief Cited on Stalin, Khrushchev

PM281253 [Editorial Report] Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 13 on 26 March-1 April 1988 (Signed to Press 24 March 1988) carries on pages 1, 2, and 3 under the headline "Closer to People, Closer to Lively Work" a 1,900-word interview with Yu.I. Litvintsev, first secretary of the Tula party obkom, by its correspondent V. Voronetskiy.

The interview centers on the course of restructuring in Tula Oblast and the social, economic, and cadre measures taken to ensure its success. It also includes the following exchange:

"Correspondent: We receive many contradictory letters in connection with the publication of articles about Stalin and Khrushchev. What do you, as a modern party official, think of these personalities?

"Litvintsev: There is no doubt that Stalin is one of the constellation of revolutionaries and played a positive role in defending Lenin's path of the building of socialism, and this cannot but be valued. On the other hand, it is impossible to justify and forgive the excesses and repressions committed under his leadership, or the shaping of an authoritarian, administrative edict method of leadership. As for N.S. Khrushchev, in my view he deserves respect. His misfortune obviously lies in the fact that he lacked a firm (or bold?) collegium of comrades in arms who could have prevented his voluntarism and rash decisions."

Work Collective Councils' Role Assessed

LD251415 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—TASS news analyst Boris Grishchenko writes:

The Law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Association) entered into force three months ago. Three months are certainly a brief period but nevertheless it enables one to see new sprouts in the life of Soviet enterprises.

The law, above all, protects economic independence of the enterprise from relapses of Soviet society-rejected administrative-command methods of managing the economy. The Work Collective Council expresses the opinion of the employees of the enterprise, in accordance with the law.

The Work Collective Council is elected for two or three years by all the staffers of the enterprise (of their representatives, if this is a personnel of many thousands). The plant's director, or the firm's head cannot be chairman of the council. Representatives of the administration in the council should account for no more than a quarter of the total.

Such self-governing bodies are now functioning at over 15,000 industrial enterprises but only 300 of them so far used the law-granted right to elect the director. In a number of places election of such councils and directors were postponed for a later date, considering the question a secondary one. The practice shows that such a viewpoint is erroneous.

Here is an example: Deputy Minister of the Chemical Industry of the USSR Sergey Golubkov had to make an unplanned trip to Central Asia to introduce with his own hand correctives into the production programme of one of the biggest enterprises of the industry. The Work Collective Council of the Navoiazot association in Uzbekistan drew the conclusion that the new fertilizer production unit cannot provide the output envisaged by the ministry for this year. The deputy minister had to agree with the opinion. The main opponent of the deputy minister was not the director but 34-year-old foreman Petre Zimnitsa who was elected chairman of the Work Collective Council early this year.

It is not everywhere that the possibilities of work collective councils were appraised. But life brings to light ever new examples of efficiency of these new organs of worker's democracy.

Vinogradov: CPSU Is Only Party USSR Needs

AU290904 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Mar 88 p 6

[Reply by Andrey Vinogradov of NOVOSTI to a reader's query in "Assisting the Reader" column: "The CPSU Expresses the Interests of All Working People"]

[Text] Peter Cenkov from Banska Bystrica: The existence of a single political party is a feature of the Soviet political system. Is the establishment of other political parties as part of the restructuring process being considered?

Andrey Vinogradov, NOVOSTI: No, it is not. This is the view held by Soviet society and it was expressed by M. Gorbachev, for instance, in his interview for the American television network NBC. The Communist Party's energetic domestic and foreign policy expresses the entire range of interests of our people and our country, justifying under the most complicated conditions the confidence placed in it by the broadest masses of working people and acting as the initiator of all contemporary changes. Any other, new political party (not an opposition party, because there is no political opposition to the changes which are being carried out) would in a way be duplicating the activities of the existing party. This is all the more true under the contemporary conditions of an open dialogue, both inside the party itself, and between

the party and all social organizations and informal associations that express specific, group interests and views (which do not always coincide with the Communists' interests). It is true that we can sometimes encounter party representatives who do not wish to hear other views. However, the party has on the whole proved, and continues to prove, that it can accept constructive thinking from others and knows how to defend its principled positions, discuss matters, and search for the right solution together with the people.

One still comes across the view that expressions of pluralism (in all kinds of issues) are something harmful and alien to socialism...I think that here it is appropriate to recall the principled clarification made during M. Gorbachev's meeting with the representatives of the French people last September. I am thinking of the importance of the adjective "socialist," which—as the CPSU Central Committee general secretary stressed—it is essential to add to the term "pluralism." Socialist pluralism, the absence of which under the one-party system is so often deplored, is based on socialist values. A frank exchange of views does not multiply problems—it crystallizes them, and helps alternative solutions to be found and the very best to be selected. After all, the exclusive nature of the Communist Party in our society has never been a purpose in itself. The system of several parties was maintained during the first post-revolutionary years, and the members of the first All-Russian Central Executive Committee were not only Bolsheviks, but also left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), Maximalist SRs, Mensheviks-Internationalists, and Ukrainian Socialists.

It was not the Bolsheviks who removed them from the political arena—they themselves failed to pass the test of devotion to the ideas of the socialist revolution.

Moscow Could Have 'Hyde Park' Public Forum

PM301511 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 13, 27 Mar 88 p 14

[Interview with "Moscow's Procurator" Lev Baranov by Viktor Tuyrshatov: "Dialogue Versus Confrontation. A Lawyer and a Journalist Discuss Demonstrations: Both Those That Have Taken Place And That Haven't"—first three paragraphs editorial introduction]

[Text] March 5 marked the 35th anniversary of Stalin's death. This date, not marked in any calendar, caused much interest among unofficial groups. The political club Perestroyka-88 submitted an application for permission to conduct a demonstration in Oktyabrskaya Square demanding (I quote): "radical de-Stalinization of Soviet society and replacement of the administrative-bureaucratic regime with a democratic system founded on the principles of socialist pluralism"... Almost simultaneously the Krasnopresnenskiy District Executive Committee received an application for permission to hold a remembrance meeting in honour of the victims of Stalin's repressions. The district authorities turned down both requests. The reason: the proposed objectives were antisocial in character and discredited real democratization.

But the sponsors did not give up their plans and on March 5, the militia had to remove the first group from Oktyabrskaya Square. However, the following day a small procession with lighted candles marched along the lanes of Krasnopresnenskiy Park.

These and other cases of actions by Muscovites in the first half of March prompted one of our correspondents to organize a meeting with Moscow's Procurator Lev Baranov.

Q: Exactly half a year ago the Moscow City Soviet passed a resolution on meetings, marches and demonstrations. At that time, in a talk with my colleague, you said that permission to organize actions will depend in many respects on the political maturity of those who take the decision. But so far, the overwhelming majority of applications have been turned sown. How can you explain this?

A: Regrettably, several groups have been formed in Moscow under antisocialist slogans. There aren't many of them, but they are very active. The purposes of their actions are dubious. It is obvious that, if they gather in a crowded place, they will scatter leaflets and obstruct the traffic. The district authorities had every reason to turn them down.

The February Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stressed that the democratization of our society should proceed within a strictly legal framework. But, after failing to get permission, some leaders of the "unofficials" deliberately go out into the street and try to test the strength of the Soviet bodies of power. This is also what happened in Oktyabrskaya Square.

Q: Snowplows were used to move the crowd on—is that right?

A: This was the "initiative" of the Oktyabrskuy District department of Internal Affairs and its leaders have been reprimanded for this. It is impermissible to use unlawful methods, even for the sake of bringing about order. For the time being, the militia still lacks the necessary experience in such things, which is why extremes are possible. But, as regards the most active trespassers who have been detained and whose acts are qualified as "malicious disobedience before militia officials"—the actions of the law-enforcement bodies were justified. We have looked into this.

Q: Let us be realists: Such cases are possible in the future as well. But why focus on them alone? Sometimes the impression is that the local soviets, profitting from their right not to give permission, refuse straight off to allow a demonstration—just in case. But later, when it has

already assumed a seditious nature, they simply watch from aside without interfering. This happened to the gathering of citizens who protested against the construction of a zoo in Bittsy. The participants did not intend to violate public order and the question, in general, concerned quite ordinary matters.

A: Their action was seen as inadvisable. The decision on construction had already been taken, and there was also a project. Incidentally, Moscow newspapers actively covered this question and, I believe, proved the soundness of the plans.

Q.: But why then didn't the representatives of the District Soviet come to Bittsy. After all, they were insistently invited. You will agree that it's one thing to read opponents' arguments in a newspaper and altogether another to engage in an open polemic with them.

A.: It's hard not to agree with you. As a member of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee I am aware of the calls of its leadership to meet people more often, to get in touch with them in person rather than through the mail. I understand that it is much more difficult to persaude participants in a rally who have already made up their minds "against", than to send them a paper with a refusal. In this respect the ability to conduct dialogue, to persuade and win over is very important. Regrettably, this is something that is still wanting at the district level.

Q.: But there have been other examples as well—in Krasnopresnenskiy Park, for example. When it became clear that the sponsors of the rally would not give up their plans, the representatives of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, the District Executive Committee and the Komsomol and the Procurator's office, met with them on one more occasion. It cannot be said that they parted as bosom friends, but they understood each other. And this was a sign of strength rather than weakness. Another instance, again in the Krasnopresnenskiy District. Instead of a demonstration over the coming law on unofficial groups, and with the consent of the "unofficials" themselves, the Executive Committee arranged a discussion in one of the biggest halls. I cannot say that both sides were fully satisfied, but the fact remains: a dialogue took place and steam was let off.

A.: Dialogue is necessary. The more so that there are very many young people in unofficial groups. If their youthful energy and thirst for self-assertion constantly come up against banning measures this will only push them away, if not repulse them for good.

Q.: And yet, today, what is really needed is for the young to have a place where they can speak out their opinion in public without first asking for official registration (but, naturaly, with due control)—something like London's Hyde Park.

A.: The Procurator's Office and the city's Main Administration of Internal Affairs have submitted such a proposal to the Moscow City Soviet. We think that we shall receive its support.

Reader Warns Against Possible Gorbachev Cult

PM311021 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Readers' letters in "Letters '...Not For Publication'" feature]

[Excerpts] Let's Make Haste! [subhead]

I want to object to an idea expressed in the survey "Let's Have a Think" (IZVESTIYA No 72). "Let's not be hasty"—there's no need to urge anyone in that respect. We have already spent decades not making haste. For instance, we were in no hurry to publish Zoshchenko. If we had published him promptly perhaps we would not have descended into today's impenetrable bureaucracy and other disorders in our life.

For 25 years we have been in no hurry to renounce half-truth and to finally debunk the Stalin personality cult. In so little hurry are we that we generate new cults and little cults. Khrushchev, who began well by attacking the cult, toward the end himself lapsed into it. Then Brezhnev believed in his own genius. How much sense will history have to teach us for us to learn to nip any eulogizing in the bud? I think that Lenin would not have been Lenin if, by virtue of his genius, he had not immediately understood the perniciousness of the cult addiction (that is my figurative expression for this phenomenon) and had not nipped it in the bud.

M.S. Gorbachev is acting in a Leninist manner. At the moment. As long as the press does not try to instill in him the idea of his exclusiveness. Any man, even the most talented, is suggestible. If he begins to believe in his own genius and allows people to trumpet his praises, he will come under the influence of the cult addiction which is no less perfidious than any other addiction. He must be safeguarded.

We are failing to make haste in every respect. We invent talented and brilliant things yet 20, 30, or 50 years later we buy them abroad from the people who do make haste. Now some people would like to extend restructuring almost to the end of the century, making appeals on television and in the press for people not to make haste!

Let's make haste! Not, of course, at breakneck speed, but by thinking. But we must not spend years thinking about our problems. With the aid not of semi-glasnost (which is what prevails so far) but of full glasnost we will be able to take error-free decisions in the minimum amount of time and introduce them into practice.

Let's make haste!

I know my letter will not be published. Even in your "...not for publication" section. But letters and opinions like mine are necessary not to the overthrown authorities but to the acting ones. When will we understand?

G. Shilo, Slavyansk, Donetsk Oblast.

Secrets of the Peace Fund [subhead]

At our enterprise it was proposed that a day's wages be deducted for the Peace Fund. But this proposal generated no enthusiasm and it was not for nothing that people started saying that it was "an enforced voluntary measure." People are frankly saying that the Peace Fund organization has become surrounded by a bureaucratic apparatus and we do not want to finance trips abroad for its officials and the payment for this apparatus. Why are reports on the expenditure of Peace Fund assets published only irregularly? At general meetings it was decided to deduct money for the children's fund and specifically for a children's home. Please understand us correctly: People do not begrudge money for specific measures connected with the struggle for peace. People do not begrudge money for orphans and underprivileged children. Nor are there any problems with aid to the victims of Chernobyl or natural disasters. But everyone is sick of bureaucracy!

A. Chizhov, Leningrad. [passage omitted]

To Play Safe [subhead]

Only recently has the shroud of secrecy begun to lift over problems of Army service. I shall cite one more problem. It is the regulation of free time. Because of this regulation drafted soldiers and sergeants often have a feeling that they are being humiliated and are not trusted and there are unjustified instances of strictness and restrictions.

This particularly affects those serving abroad. What it means to spend 2 years without leave solely on the territory of the barracks! Especially as relations cannot travel to the GDR. Is it easy for yesterday's schoolboys to be cut off so sharply from family and freedom?

The Germans are surprised that our soldiers are kept so strictly. Our state's prestige does not benefit. It looks bad against the background of the conditions of service of U.S., British, and French soldiers. I think the point is that our command is afraid of what might happen. Of course, extraordinary occurrences do happen but can everything be reduced only to exceptions to the rule? Do the soldier and his parents not experience humiliation and distrust when a duty officer is hanging about the visitors' room to make sure there are no violations? You cannot share family secrets, kiss your sweetheart, and so forth without a witness. And, in my opinion, in any situation you must see the man and seek a humane approach. Discipline will not deteriorate, and the moral microclimate will improve. A detrimental daily routine for soldiers gives rise to bullying, fights, nervous breakdowns, and so forth. The time has come to revise the internal service regulations.

N. Zorin, Bor, Gorkiy Oblast. [passage omitted]

Taking Issue With 'Antiquated Propaganda'
PM301527 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 13, 27 Mar 88 p 3

[Aleksandr Levikov "Political Diary" article: "Struggling and Believing"]

[Text] When we take a pen in hand or join a discussion, we always present ourselves as advocates of perestroyka—regardless of whether we are or not. I've never met anyone who spoke out against perestroyka. Those who urge that Stalinism be exposed and those who ascribe resounding victories to Stalinism, those who advocate the socialist market and those who reject the market economy as a threat to socialism, those who vote for a consistent type of democracy and those who say democracy will lead to "impending anarchy"—they all pledge allegiance to perestroyka.

What is one to make of it?

I don't think there is something unnatural going on. In the past we often judged our unity solely on the basis of this monopoly of official opinion. The first, even furtive taste of glasnost established that we are all different. We want something "different" varies from one person to the next. These social contradictions aren't new to us, they've simply stopped being an area where people fear to tread. History and how to proceed are the topics of heated discussions and debate. These discussions have revealed many different groups—even groups within groups. A struggle between "advocates and advocates" (not just "advocates and opponents") is inevitable in the process of perestroyka, even necessary. But what sort of struggle should it be?

According to Nina Andreyeva—in her long letter "I can't give up my principles" to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA (March 13)—this struggle should be viewed from the dogmatic position of "aggravating the class struggle". Once this approach provided a theoretical basis for repressions, but Andreyeva even today sees "enemy" intrigues in critiques of Stalinism, rather than the intellectual rebirth of a nation after the tragic events in its history, or the deep-seated need to squeeze the slave out of the people, to free them from the fear and submissiveness cultivated with demagoguery and terror. Andreyeva contends that "alongside professional anti-communists in the West who have long adopted the allegedly democratic slogan of 'anti-Stalinism', there live and prosper scions of these classes deposed by the October Revolution.... Among them are inheritors of the ideas of Dan, Martov,...followers of Trotskiy or Yagoda, scions of the NEP period nouveaux riches, counterrevolutionaries

from Soviet central Asia during the civil war and kulaks". Andreyeva believes that there are also "counterrevolutionary nations" who add their pernicious energy to this destructive work. This phrase "counterrevolutionary nations" uttered a long time ago on a specific occasion is hurled as a stone of discord into the complicated life today of this multinational country.

This antiquated propaganda is used ostensibly for purposes of upholding the purity of ideological principles. Widely known writers, honest historians and all critics of Stalin and Stalinism can be listed among the "scions" and "followers".

Discussion dedicated to finding the truth is as necessary as it is productive. But an accusatory finger is being pointed at potential "clients" of certain services in (not 1938!). This is flabbergasting. I see nothing but harm in this position and I resolutely protest against "struggle for destruction". Now is the time for struggle through discussion. The objective is to come up with tangible proof rather than to defame one's opponents. I tell those who ask me if I really believe in perestroyka that for me perestroyka is not a matter of believing but a matter of participating, being involved. Incidentally, in off-the-record conversations at work, among friends, tete-a-tetes, people often ask each other this question, with emphasis on the word "really". Even today, just as in the past, they believe in double standards. But what is the meaning of "believing in perestroyka" if it doesn't imply personal involvement? Does it mean waiting to see if they (who?) succeed? Trying to guess how far they (who?) will go and when they will call it quits? No, believing means struggling.

Why then do I say "it's not a matter of believing"? One person I discussed this with was surprised: How can you struggle without believing? I think one should believe in what one struggles for by all means—confidence in the out-come is another matter. It depends on the nature of the struggle and the balance of forces. To determine your place in perestroyka by adding up its chances for success? This is less than a dignified effort. A moral person goes into battle—even a dangerous and hopeless one—guided by his conscience and convictions.

We have our own ideas of what should be done to restore the truth, to make the economy efficient. But we also have opponents. How do we overcome them? Only through open discussion! This is the kind of struggle people of all trades and occupations can take part in. Discussion can be bitter—you really can't give up your principles. But God forbid we again split into "friends" and "foes" and start putting political labels on one another, to fan the flames of hatred and self-destruction and invoke menacing shadows.

18th Century Moscow Architect Commemorated

PM241307 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To the Glory of Russia"]

[Excerpt] Vasiliy Ivanovich Bazhenov, the outstanding representative of Russian architecture, was able to imbue it with extraordinary boldness and a will for great creative daring. He addressed his talent "to the immortal memory of the future." The architect's ideas incarnate are associated on the whole with Moscow. And although they are not numerous, to this day the buildings erected to the design of the great craftsman impart a distinctive, unique look to our capital.

It is 250 years since the birth of Russia's famous son. A ceremonial meeting held in the evening of 18 March in Moscow in the House of the Unions' Hall of Columns was dedicated to this significant date.

The following were in the presidium: Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; Ye.V. Zaytsev, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.F. Isayev, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; cultural figures and representatives of the public. [passage omitted]

Briefs

Culture Foundation Presidium Meets

Moscow March 29 TASS—A public council has been formed for the study and revival of the cultures of national minorities of the Soviet Union. This was announced at a meeting of the Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Culture Foundation (SCF) here today. It was also decided to set up an SCF Council for Public Initiatives in the field of culture. Its purpose will be to organize competitions and auctions to analyse and evaluate the social importance of suggestions coming in to the SCF. [Excerpt] [*LD310217 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 30 Mar 88*]

Economic

Plant Directors Discuss Curbs on Independence

PM221325 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondents A. Druzenko and L. Kapelyushnyy report under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Tasks of Restructuring": "Twenty Percent... Independence. Conversation at Council of Directors of Kaunas Enterprises Recorded by Our Correspondents"]

[Text] The council met at our request. No specific subject was on the agenda. We merely agreed to mull over the special features of current economic life. These features are well known: the new stage of reform and the new Law on the Enterprise...

However, the main and determining topic of discussion became clear at the outset. The extent to which enterprises are independent, the guarantees of that independence, and their protection in law—these are the things that most worry the leaders of labor collectives today.

Still Planning in the Old Way... [subhead]

B. Yankauskas, director of the "Elektra" Electromechanical Plant: I will cite Article 10, Paragraph 4 of the Law on the Enterprise. It states that annual plans shall be independently drawn up and ratified by enterprises on the basis of their 5-year plans and the economic contracts they conclude. Just so, independently! On the basis of our 5-year plan we drew up a program for this year and sent our proposals to the "Elfa" Association in Vilnius, to which we are subordinate. They looked at them, said nothing, and then said: "No, guys, we won't recognize these plans of yours. Your growth rates are too low. You have planned to increase productivity by 8 percent over the year, but we're setting you a figure of 17.8 percent." We naturally objected, saying, "Look, we have rights now under the new law! Anyway we are in the best position to judge our own abilities!"

We were told: "Rights are rights, but the plan is the plan. You will do as we say." On 20 January—you will note that the year had already started—we were issued with a plan. It was tougher than we had proposed. And unbalanced. We still had not received a single kilogram of 11 types of raw material at that time! We were tormented for all of January, and even ground to a halt at the beginning of February. I don't understand what this kind of planning has to do with economic accountability [khozraschet].

[Correspondents] That's interesting, but what form did your talks with the association take? Letters, phone calls? What was the tone of the communication—orders, commands, advice? Did specialists from the association visit you to prove that you could set a bigger plan?

B. Yankauskas: What proof are you talking about! They sent a telex with indicators—and that was it.

[Correspondents] How do think the situation should be resolved?

S. Artsishkyavichus, general director of the "Kauno Balday" Furniture Association: Everything depends on how far the director wants to argue with the leadership.

B. Yankauskas: I think it's clear how far—what I can say here about this is...

S. Artsishkyavichus: I'm joking. But if we are to be consistent and follow the law more faithfully, directors should be able to turn to a body that can objectively settle a conflict situation. The State Board of Arbitration, for instance.

[Correspondents] You mean that you now need some kind of objective arbiter in your economic affairs?

S. Artsishkyavichus: Undoubtedly! If the law gives us independence, but in actual practice this independence is immediately taken away, the collective must have not only the right but the ability to appeal against what it sees as an unjust decision. I have no doubt that there are already ample grounds for so doing. We are given additional targets not envisaged by the 5-year plan control figures—that's high-handedness of the first water!

And at the moment we are powerless in the face of it.

Yu. Kyalyuotis, director of the Zibertas Silk Combine: Just who gets lumbered with the additional targets? The weak enterprises? Of course not. Those who are pulling their weight more than the others. If I fulfill it, the target will, as before, form the basis of my next plan. After all, the principle of "what has been achieved" still prevails. And let me be honest: I'll continue to find some way of hiding some reserves somewhere.

K. Dzidolikas, director of the Dzerzhinskiy Machine Tool Association: This is not the first reform in my time. Of course, it is a question of a complex and long process. But we must take account of the lessons of the past. Why did the 1965 reform fail? Because enterprises failed to achieve independence! Where is it felt first of all? In planning.

K. Shyaputis, director of the "Inkaras" Rubber Products Plant: Administration by decree is also seen in a seemingly new matter such as state orders. Look how they are interpreted by the law. State orders must guarantee the satisfaction of paramount—and I stress, paramount—social needs, and extend to those types of product which are needed to resolve statewide social tasks, fulfill scientific and technical programs, strengthen defense capability, and secure the country's economic independence. So explain why my plan—as a state order—requires me to produce rubber bulbs for an overflow tank? What has that got to do with our country's economic independence?

[Correspondents] At the end of last year we in the editorial office held a "roundtable" of Muscovite directors. This revealed a contradictory situation. When 100 percent of output comes under the state order, people complain that they are being deprived of independence. When only 50 percent does, people object that sufficient resources are allocated for the state orders but not for the rest of their output.

Yu. Kyalyuotis: Just a minute, the point is: If the resources are allocated—we do not have any! All our output goes toward state orders, yet we still do not have

authorization for all the chemicals we need. Meanwhile, things have gotten to the stage where our own yarn—which we do not process ourselves—is being planned as a state order. It's laughable!

S. Artsishkyavichus: It's no laughing matter. There is a kind of logic to it. Administrative methods remain in force. Everything is still rigidly planned from the center, but in the new guise of state orders.

K. Shyaputis: In their present form state orders essentially run counter to state interests. They deprive us of the room to maneuver and initiative being demanded at every turn.

What price full economic a countability if the almighty quota system remains in force everywhere! Suppose our plant earns R1 million. How can we spend it if there are quotas on everything! We cannot buy the equipment we need, everything must come out of specific funds.

V. Gubavichus, director of the "Drode" Woolens Association: Things can be even worse. You may have the money and the authorization, but there is no equipment.

K. Dzidolikas: It's a question of principle, not authorization. Since wholesale trade has not been developed, the plant cannot buy what it needs with its earnings. The decisions on what we need and what will be allocated are made for us. On the whole I think that we are not being resolute. We must take risks more boldly!

[Correspondents] Under the new conditions the relationship between enterprises and management organs should fundamentally change. We stress that they should—although, judging by our conversation, this is still far from being the case. But let us try to imagine how they could change. Take planning. It used to be clear: There were orders, quotas, and funds. But now? What about the future? If differences of opinion arise over the plan, we may need expert consultation. But is that possible?

S. Artsishkyavichus: It certainly is. But I cannot see such experts being found in the ministries. Even if they were geniuses, there'd be no getting away from their departmental mind-sets.

K. Shyaputis: But why do you need outside experts anyway? That's just administration by decree once again! Which people know their abilities better than any expert? Nobody but the people working at the enterprise. The wisest experts and institutes cannot find reserves which are perfectly well known to the collective. So the collective itself should set its own plans—that is the point of the reform. Whether they want to plan on the basis of what has been achieved or on some other basis is up to them.

[Correspondents] It is now probably difficult to implement the situation which you have discussed so animatedly, since the old mechanism continues to operate in the current 5-year plan. But we should already be thinking about the next 5-year plan, when old methods will be, as it were, "prohibited." Today's economic life is full of contradictions, but we should start the new 5-year plan with a new economic mechanism. That means we should also have qualitatively new planning. How do you see this?

S. Artsishkyavichus: Just as envisaged by the Law on the Enterprise. That is, we'll have to pull out all the stops to ensure that the law is really in operation by the start of the 5-year plan! To ensure that the wholesale trade system is up and running. To ensure that the price formation system is brought into line with the new mechanism. To ensure that management principles are really based on economic foundations. As for planning, the main condition, it seems to me, is that control figures and normatives should be stable. Enterprises should plan everything else for themselves. Without this approach economic accountability and independence will remain illusory.

[Correspondents] You all use that word "independence" very often.

V. Gubavichus: Well, it's a key word.

[Correspondents] Of course. But has there really been no progress toward independence?

S. Artsishkyavichus: I think that a step has been taken. A director never used to be able to sell a worker a piece of plywood or a kilogram of paint—now there's no problem. The fact that we can use our own funds ourselves, whereas previously all sorts of commissions would come and hassle us, is also good. I still see no independence in other areas.

Yu. Kyalyuotis: We have seen more independence nonetheless. There are fewer directives, papers, or controls—that's a fact.

V. Gubavichus: I think we've progressed about 20 percent.

[Correspondents] In the direction of independence?

V. Gubavichus: Yes. Okay, old habits die hard and we still moan about there being no independence at all, about being bound hand and foot, and about tutelage! But if we weigh things up realistically, there have been tangible improvements. But, I repeat, we expect much more.

B. Yankauskas: Here's a seemingly trivial example that is actually instructive. I can now obtain a passport and go on a business trip to the GDR in the space of just 2 days. But what about independence in pay? After all, that's vitally important to people! What about personnel discipline? There used to be a shop commission finding out just what everyone was doing. Someone inexperienced

would state that a time sheet was being compiled and the commission would immediately tell me that this was a violation and we were not supposed to have a timekeeper! How many other trivial matters were there to slow us down! Now there are far fewer. But, of course, there is not enough independence in the most important areas—planning, management, and the economic process itself.

K. Dzidolikas: There is, of course, now more freedom. We must, incidentally, be able to make use of it. We must be able to take risks and operate in general. After all, independence by itself won't get us anywhere. There will still be resistance and that will have to be overcome. Not on our own, naturally. Collectives must be brought to the fore.

Democracy: From Bottom to Top and Top to Bottom [subhead]

[Correspondents] So far we have mainly been talking about how enterprises perceive the external environment, their relations with ministries, planning and supply organizations, and so forth. But the law, as is well known, devotes enormous attention to the democratization of production life. To a greater extent this affects the collective's "internal" sentiments. Although it may not be so easy to come to terms with external circumstances (the old mechanism offers resistance) there should not really be any obstacles to democratization (the election of leaders and labor collective councils). Do you sense any progress in this direction?

A. Songayla, director of the "Raudonasis Spalis" Footwear Factory: I would look at this more broadly. The working climate itself is changing, as are attitudes to work. A great deal of criticism can be leveled against unsophisticated planning—and that would be fair. But it's still a fact that the new conditions are forcing us to take a fresh look at many things. If you like, people working at a factory are offended to hear that Americans and Japanese make real shoes while ours are an apology for the real thing. But just being offended is not enough, we must work in a different way! The most logical reply is when our new models are snapped up in the stores. This is also an indication of the changes taking place in the collective's life. Here is an example. On 18 February—I can even remember the date—it was exactly a year since we last used a disciplinary measure at the factory. That is, in the past year I have not issued a single order for any administrative penalties. Why? Because there's been no need! Material measures—both incentives and punishments—naturally work under the conditions of economic accountability. We have in practice abandoned administration by decree.

K. Dzidolikas: I agree, the climate in collectives is changing for the better. Do you know what the main thing is? We have started accounting more strictly for what we spend and what we earn. That goes for everyone—from workers to the director. We used to try to just take, get, and grab as much as we could. Now we are starting our economic education. When people distribute what has been actually earned it is an educational experience.

S. Artsishkyavichus: I wouldn't say that we have already learned to take account of everything. That would be too optimistic a statement. As long as an enterprise has no extensive, real rights, it has little opportunity to learn to take account of everything.

K. Dzidolikas: I was saying that this improvement is only beginning. I do not rule out the possibility that it will only really be felt by my grandchildren... But it is important for people to be involved in production. For this process to proceed more actively we need democracy. For instance, when it was time to elect the chairman of the labor collective council there was a heated discussion about whom to elect. I said: "Not the [plant] director at any rate."

[Correspondents] Incidentally, as yet the trend is in the other direction. Most often it is the leaders who are elected chairmen.

K. Dzidolikas: Well, that is a case of dictatorship by directors. But why? Directors should put their decisions to the collective for their assessment. To ensure that the assessment is objective the collective should not be dependent on the director... To be honest, I'm worried about a different problem. Although the principle has been made law, I still think that electing directors... how shall I put it tactfully... has not, in my opinion, been completely thought through.

[Correspondents] Why?

K. Dzidolikas: Primarily because it is now hard to find suitable people who want to be elected directors.

B. Yankauskas: Why limit it to directors? It's impossible to find shop chiefs!

K. Dzidolikas: But directors are soon going to be an endangered species. I think that we should be realistic. If there are people from whom to make a choice, then okay. But if there aren't, there's no point playing at democracy. And anyway I'm not sure that the results of such elections will be correct.

[Correspondents] Do you mean that people will elect someone easygoing?

K. Dzidolikas: That and other things!

[Correspondents] But surely you agree that it's logical: There used to be administrative methods with directors being appointed, now we are putting a stop to excessive administration and electing directors.

K. Dzidolikas: Time will tell...

B. Yankauskas: We have elected a collective council, but it cannot be said that it has done anything substantive yet. We haven't even elected the council chairman. Why? Just take a look at what other people are doing. Some places have elected the director, others have elected a worker. We want to understand which is the better option. We're scared of getting it wrong.

[Correspondents] Please tell us, when you had disputes with the association about the plan, did you reinforce your opinion as director by citing the opinion of the labor collective council?

B. Yankauskas: Of course.

[Correspondents] What happened—did they pay any attention?

B. Yankauskas: Unfortunately not. It's a bad sign when collective councils are not recognized from the outset. In other words, when bureaucratic inertia comes into play. They tell us, "Big deal about the council, here are our figures, carry them out..."

[Correspondents] Have there been conflicts within the enterprise—have you ever disagreed with the council's opinion, for instance?

B. Yankauskas: Not so far. But all that probably lies ahead...

K. Shyaputis: The enterprise's relations with the outside world and its relations within the collective are dictated by a single system. The levers that are used to influence us from above are used in turn by us to influence our subordinates.

Yu. Kyalyuotis: Absolutely right.

K. Shyaputis: Suppose we get a simple order to send a certain number of people to a kolkhoz. I'm not going to call a meeting and resolve the question there. No, I, of course, "circulate" the order around the shops. I do just the same when it comes to additional volumes of output. I send them even further, into the shops. The shop chief comes up and tries to dissuade me (like I tried to dissuade a ministry worker yesterday), saying: "It's impossible, there's not enough, we won't be able to do it..." I pressure him, saying he has to do it and that's that. How can that be reconciled with democracy? It's hard to. That's why, as long as administrative methods operate from above they become rooted in the life of an enterprise and thereby hamper democratization.

[Correspondents] You mean, you can't separate one from the other?

K. Shyaputis: Absolutely! We've been reared on orders. I get them from above and pass them on down the line. It's an entire philosophy! If we want democracy from top to bottom, we have to view this as a single system. We can't divide things up, saying: "You'll have democracy internally, but the old mechanism can still apply from above..." As for collective councils and whether directors should be part of them or lead them—that, in my view, is a technical matter. We just have to realize the following: If councils want to decide something for the collective, they cannot do without the leader. It is he who has all the information that no one else in the enterprise has to the same extent. A council is needed, as I see it, to control the leader's actions and reconcile them with the collective's interests. That is why I do not think we should get flustered about difference between them. Conflicts have always been there and will continue to exist. The main thing is what lies behind them and at what they are aimed.

S. Artsishkyavichus: I'm sure that councils have a great future. Only we must say more—and in the newspapers as well—about the experience of their formation. This is a new job! We shouldn't just report conflicts.

[Correspondents] They're easier to write about.

S. Artsishkyavichus: I realize that, but experience is more important today.

K. Dzidolikas: We have put our proposals for the next 5-year plan to the labor collective council. We want to involve them in this work. You know, we even carried out checks. In certain places mistakes were deliberately made in our calculations. We looked to see whether they would be spotted or missed. Some hope! They were spotted immediately. The proposals were published in the plant newsletter. A plantwide conference was then held. Everyone looked at the specifics of what would happen to quality, the smooth flow of production, and retooling. You should have seen how heated the discussion was!

S. Artsishkyavichus: We also submitted our proposals on the future plan to the council. Without us it is hard for the council to prepare such questions properly. But expressing its opinion on behalf of the collective is extremely important. Incidentally, the council may oppose all the kinds of unsystematic campaigns that are still seen in economic management. For instance, a schedule of allocations arrived from Moscow telling us to organize a subsidiary farm. But we're supposed to be making furniture! So the collective council decided whether we need such a farm or not.

Yu. Kyalyuotis: Again it is important to take account of this opinion. It seems to me that the council has many rights in organizing the enterprise's internal life. But things are still unclear regarding the "external sphere"... [Correspondents] Do you not think that the new conditions are enhancing the role of services at enterprises like the sociological and psychological services? Both the

management and the collective council must have information on the mood in the collective, any problem areas, or impending conflicts. We talk about "bottlenecks" with regard to technology. But don't they exist in people's attitudes as well?

S. Artsishkyavichus: This information is very necessary. For instance, sociologists carried out an investigation at our plant. One of their conclusions was that there are few events which bind people together. We started looking into it. On the one hand, we do hold such events. Veterans Day, Young Workers Day... On the other hand, people feel that something is missing. We used to go on excursions into the countryside. What's the point in denying it, it was traditional, so to speak, to have a good time.

[Correspondents] It brought people closer together.

S. Artsishkyavichus: On the whole, yes. But traditions are changing now. This means that new means of socializing are needed. People want this. Whose job is it? Probably mine—the director's—and the council's... Your newspaper rightly has a rubric entitled "Learning Democracy." We are indeed still learning how to live, work, and solve problems in a democratic atmosphere. [Artsishkyavichus ends]

The problems touched upon in this conversation are, of course, not limited purely to Kaunas, or of local importance. They are typical of our entire economic life. We realize that the Law on the Enterprise has only recently come into force and it is too soon to draw any far-reaching conclusions. But if we listen closely to what the directors were saying, we can assume that the new law will not "work" automatically by itself. The opposition of the old mechanism is too active. The struggle to assert economic management methods will continue, and the longer it goes on the harder it will be. Its outcome will largely depend on the position of labor collectives and their leaders.

We would also like to draw attention to the concern with which enterprise directors talk about the future 5-year plan and about whether we will be able to prepare for it armed with economic management methods or whether we are losing time. In other words, today's large and small concerns should not overshadow the prospects for fundamental economic reform.

Finally, one last point. The conversation with the leaders of Kaunas enterprises confirmed yet again that democracy permeating our entire economic system from top to bottom is the bedrock of restructuring.

Agricultural

Gosagroprom Criticizes Contract Nonfulfillment

LD301338 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] A routine meeting of the all-union operational headquarters for material and technical supplies to rural areas has taken place in the USSR Gosagroprom. Its participants expressed a great many serious complaints aimed at leaders of ministries and departments and concerning the fact that individual enterprises are not fulfilling their contractual obligations, especially for spare parts.

Just as before, among the chronic debtors of the agro-industrial complex are the Noginsk fuel equipment works, the Melitopol hydropower units works, Tselinograd-Selmash, and the Yaroslavl engine works.

From the start of the year, tractor works have failed to supply about 2,000 vehicles. The Kharkov and Minsk works still owe the greatest number of tractors. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have not been supplied with many sowing vehicles, cultivators, and tool carriers.

The Gomselmash Association and the Lyubertsy works named after Ukhtomskogo are holding up deliveries of fodder harvesting equipment. In all, within the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, 23 associations have not fulfilled their contractual obligations. Enterprises of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry have disrupted deliveries of spare parts and bearings which are in acutely short supply. The food and processing industries lack polyethylene sheeting for packaging milk and other products. The production of these is being held up by the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

Enterprises of the Ministry of the Oil Industry and the Ministry of the Chemical Industry are not coping with the task of producing the materials needed for completing milking units, and other resources necessary for the repair of equipment.

The Ministry of Chemical Machine Building disrupted the plan for the output of equipment for commissioning building sites for the processing industry and for vegetable stores.

The question of the holding up of equipment for the construction of highways in the non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR was raised in a particularly acute fashion at the session of the headquarters. The headquarters expressed not a few complaints directed at the Ministry of Railways. As a result of the irregular supply of rail cars, around 8,000 tractors are awaiting unloading in Kharkov, Pavlodar, Volgograd, and Minsk. Many vehicles which are ready have built up in Syzran, Lyubertsy, Saransk, Kutaisi, Neftekamsk, and other cities.

Jan-Feb Stockraising Figures Reported

PM231409 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 12, Mar 88
(Signed to Press 17 Mar 88) p 11

[Unattributed "Statistical Summary": "Stockraising on Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes"]

[Text] The editorial office has received USSR State Committee for Statistics figures for the state of stockraising on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in January-February 1988. We offer these statistical data for our readers' information:

I. Production of Livestock Products [subhead]

The country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had the following results for the production of livestock products in January-February this year:

Indicators	Jan-Feb 1988	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Meat production (sale of livestock and poultry for slaughter, live weight), thousand tonnes	3,729	101
Gross milk yield thousand tonnes	10,559	106
Average milk yield per cow, kg	369	107
Hen eggs, millions	10,228	107
Average egg yield of laying hens, units	38	106

Meat production increased by 43,000 tonnes in comparison with the same period last year. Meat production increased on farms in many union republics except the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Tajikistan, and Estonia. The greatest increase in meat production in the RSFSR was achieved in Murmansk, Pskov, Smolensk, Kirov, Kursk, Chita, and Magadan Oblasts and the Karelian, Komi, Bashkir, and Buryat ASSR's. Meat production declined significantly on farms in Tambov, Rostov, and Kamchatka Oblasts, the Kalmyk, Tatar, Tuva, and Yakutsk ASSR's, and Krasnodar Kray.

The gross milk yield in January-February 1988 was 580,000 tonnes more than in January-February last year. An increase in milk production was secured by stock unit workers in most union republics except Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

The greatest increase in milk production in the RSFSR was achieved by farms in Murmansk, Bryansk, Ivanovo, Orel, Ryazan, Gorkiy, and several other oblasts.

Milk production declined on farms in Rostov, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, Arkhangelsk, Vologda, and Kuybyshev Oblasts, the Maritime Kray, and the Tuva and Udmurt ASSR's.

Egg production on kolkhozes and sovkhozes in January-February 1988 increased by 637 million compared with the same period last year. Growth was achieved on farms in almost all union republics, except Turkmenistan.

II. Purchases of Livestock Products on All Categories of Farms [subhead]

Types of Product Purchased	Purchased During Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Livestock and poultry (live weight), thousand tonnes	3,840	102
Milk, thousand tonnes	9,352	107
Eggs, millions	9,757	105

The volume of livestock and poultry sales to the state in the country in the first 2 months of 1988 increased by 80,000 tonnes in comparison with the same period last year. Livestock and poultry sales declined on farms in Georgia, Estonia, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan.

The largest decline of livestock and poultry purchases in the RSFSR occurred on farms in the Kalmyk and Tatar ASSR's, Krasnodar Kray, and Rostov, Orenburg, and Tomsk Oblasts. Livestock and poultry purchases increased considerably on farms in the Buryat and Bashkir ASSR's, Chita and Smolensk Oblasts, and Komi ASSR.

Purchases of milk and dairy products increased by 593,000 tonnes during the first 2 months of 1988. Farms in all union republics except Tajikistan increased milk sales to the state. Milk sales to the state in the RSFSR declined on farms in Arkhangelsk and Kuybyshev Oblasts, the Udmurt, Tuva, and Tatar ASSR's, the Maritime Kray, and Chelyabinsk and some other oblasts.

There was a significant increase in milk purchases on farms in Orel, Ivanovo, Tambov, Tomsk, Murmansk, Ryazan, Gorkiy, Bryansk, and other oblasts.

Egg sales to the state in January-February 1988 increased by 444 million in comparison with the same period last year. Egg sales to the state increased on farms in all union republics.

III. Production and Purchases of Livestock Products by Union Republic [subhead]

Production and Purchases of Livestock Products by Union Republic, January-February 1988 as Percentage of January-February 1987

	Production			Purchases		
	Meat	Milk	Eggs	Livestock	Milk	Eggs and Poultry
USSR	101	106	107	102	107	105
RSFSR	103	105	107	104	106	105

Production and Purchases of Livestock Products by Union Republic. January-February 1988 as Percentage of January-February 1987

	Production			Purchases		
of which the non-Chernozem Zone	106	107	107	108	106	105
Ukrainian SSR	96	106	106	96	108	102
Belorussian SSR	103	111	105	103	114	103
Uzbek SSR	106	107	114	93	106	114
Kazakh SSR	110	102	103	115	103	103
Georgian SSR	102	98	101	89	100.6	103
Azerbaijan SSR	95	99	106	97	100.9	103
Lithuanian SSR	98	107	111	99.3	108	109
Moldavian SSR	98	111	109	97	112	105
Latvian SSR	104	107	109	106	107	108
Kirghiz SSR	113	102	117	114	102	113
Tajik SSR	99	100.2	118	97	96	121
Armenian SSR	103	100	103	105	100.3	100.8
Turkmen SSR	107	110	97	107	111	100.2
Estonian SSR	90	106	113	91	103	107

IV. Livestock Numbers (Data as of 1 March 1988 in comparison with the same period last year) [subhead]

There were 95.1 million head of cattle on kolkhozes and sovkhozes—a decline of 1.6 million. There were 28.6 million cows—419,000 fewer than at the beginning of March 1987. The pig population reached 58.6 million (a decline of 2 million). Sheep and goats numbered 122.4 million. The number of poultry reached 770.5 million—an increase of 17.6 million.

The most crucial period of livestock wintering is upon kolkhoz and sovkhoz stock units. Stock unit workers must ensure the best possible returns from the utilization of existing feed reserves and must better organize their labor so as to produce more meat, milk, and other products at lower cost. This is especially important now, when many of the country's farms are working in conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1936' Satellite Launched Into Orbit

LD301640 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched an earth satellite of the Cosmos series to continue the exploration of outer space.

The satellite, Cosmos-1936, has been placed in orbit with the following parameters:

—Initial period of revolution—89 minutes.

—Maximum distance from the earth's surface—290 kilometres.

—Minimum distance—189 km.

—Inclination of the orbit—64.8 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Cosmonauts Perform Research Experiments

'In Good Health'

LD290930 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are unloading the unmanned space freighter Progress-35, which has docked to their orbital platform Mir, and replacing components of the on-board systems that are at the end of their service lives.

Along with that the crew are working on a research program. Yesterday, for example, they conducted a series of geophysics experiments to study the ionosphere and magnetosphere of Earth.

They also underwent a medical check which showed them to be in good health. Titov's pulse was 67 and Manarov's 73 beats per minute and their arterial blood pressures respectively were 115 x 70 and 110 x 70 millimeters of the mercury column.

Future Uses of 'Mir'

LD301105 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova reports:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will start today, at 14:18 Moscow time, their 101st day of work on space orbit. Since the beginning of the flight the crew have fulfilled a vast program of research, of astrophysical, technological, environmentalist, medical and biological experiments in the interests of various branches of the national economy.

The cosmonauts continued the experiments using the Roentgen orbital observatory. Another series of experiments on space material studies was conducted with the help of the Pion-M installation. Flight Engineer Musa Manarov will remember the flight for one more reason: He observed his 37th birthday there.

The present crew replaced on orbit Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov who had stayed in outer space 326 and 160 days respectively. The replacement of the crews is part of a policy pursued by the USSR which is aimed at creating permanent orbital research stations with replaceable crews.

"The next step in this direction will be the creation of a specialized technological module of the Mir orbital station. In the sphere of space material studies and biotechnology the time has come to clearly define what materials are the best to be manufactured in space and to start their industrial production", said Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Space photos are widely used for the study of the earth's bowels, the forest and agricultural resources. Suffice it to say that at present hundreds of organizations in the USSR use space information. Over one million photo documents made on the basis of space photos are turned over to them annually.

Reusable Space Vehicle To Be Tested 'Soon'

LD290953 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—A reusable spaceship is soon to be tested in the Soviet Union, a TASS correspondent was told by Soviet Cosmonaut Oleg Makarov. This will open even broader vistas to Soviet cosmonautics both in the implementation of the national program and in international cooperation.

Oleg Makarov thrice participated in space flights. In January this year he was elected chairman of the Soviet Committee of the Association of Space Explorers (l'Association des Explorateurs de l'Espace). Together with Alexey Leonov he attended a meeting of the association's executive committee in Washington which discussed in particular also the questions of interplanetary flights of the future, the need for cooperation and carrying out manned missions to other planets.

The question of the creation and operation in orbit of a space boost-glide aircraft, or a "shuttle", as this type of spaceship is described in the USA, is no simple matter, the cosmonaut stressed. When in the early seventies NASA (the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of the USA) centered its efforts on the "shuttles", the aim seemed to be understandable, Oleg Makarov continued. A "space aircraft" several times put into orbit and returned from it was to excel single-use rockets as regards cost-saving. Yet there has been no cost-saving, experts were forced to say. But this does not mean that reusable spaceships are totally unfeasable, the cosmonaut noted.

The Western propaganda was trying to picture the fact that only the USA had "shuttles" at that time as evidence of the lag of Soviet cosmonautics. Meanwhile, the USSR started batch production of comparatively inexpensive rockets and thus got an advantage in the implementation of its space program: The Soviet spacecraft account now for 80 per cent of all launchings of spaceships in the world. In that connection he recalled that a year ago the USSR built booster-rocket "Energiya" capable of putting into orbit more than 100 tons of payload and send nearly 30 tons to Mars. "Energiya" can be coupled with massive satellites, modules for orbital stations and reusable spaceships.

Oleg Makarov recalled the plans for the perfection of the Soviet orbital station "Mir" which is already in operation and to which up to five units can be linked up, to say nothing of manned and automatic spaceships. Oleg Makarav said in conclusion that new satellite systems could be expected to appear soon.